

# Appendix 2.









Yours truly  
+ G. H. Way





+ Jas. Gillis





+ James Ryland, Bishop of Germania



—[Mr. J. Geddes to Ab. Grant, November 17, 1779.] Among the Clergy of the Lowland Vicariats there seems to have been one unanimous voice in his favour, if we may except the single opinion of the Principal at Douay, that Mr. Geddes was too useful in his present position to be spared from it.

Negotiations like these must have considerably complicated the Bishop's affairs while in London, in addition to the anxious and harassing business which had taken him there, and kept him there for upwards of four months. We can feel no surprise that, soon after his return home, he suffered for several weeks from a smart attack of lumbago. Before the end of July, we find him once more on the road, pursuing his journey by easy stages towards his beloved retreat at Sealan. Many serious thoughts must have pressed upon him there this Autumn. Of three Bishops who had met, last year, in that spot, he alone remained in life; and the whole of the past year had been one long agitation for himself. From the Speaker's Chamber, and the Lobbies of the House of Commons, he had made a congenial exchange to the bracing air and the elastic heather of the Braes of Glenlivat. There, at least, he could forget for a time that evil tongues were busy, and malicious pens never more active in opposition to all that he had learned most to value in life and death. With the Senior Missionaries of both Vicariates around him, he felt once more among Friends; the roar of a frantic Populace, and the uncertain applause of a good-humoured House of Commons, were alike unheard in the stillness of that remote Valley. He bathed, sometimes twice a day, in a dam constructed for the purpose in the little stream of Crombie, which flows past the door of the Seminary on its way to join the Livat, a few miles lower down. His health began to amend, and he looked forward to sea-bathing as a certain means of restoration. It was now arranged that he should reside for the Winter at Aberdeen, in consequence of the scarcity of Missionaries; an arrangement which was further recommended by its withdrawing him from Edinburgh, where popular feeling hardly yet permitted him, with perfect impunity, to appear in public.

The Bishop also surrendered the harassing duties attendant on the office of Procurator for the Mission into the hands of the Administrators, who selected Mr. J. Thomson at Edinburgh,

to succeed to the office, with a parting compliment, well-earned, to the pointed accuracy in his Accounts, practised by the retiring Procurator.

The impoverished condition of the little Seminary, had for some time been a source of anxiety to the friends of the Lowland Mission. Various drains upon its limited income, had reduced it so much, that unless an extraordinary contribution had been applied to meet its current expenses, it must have been closed some months before this time. All the funds on which it could now depend did not produce more than £30 a-year, on which, however, it was calculated that six boys could be maintained. It was therefore resolved for the future to charge every Boarder £8 a year; and a similar sum must be paid by Candidates for admission on the Endowed Fund during their Probation.

Mr. Alexander Maedonald, Senior, the Vicar-General (Pro Vicarius) of the late Highland Bishop, had collected the Votes of the Clergy for a Successor, and now sent all the particulars to Bishop Hay at Sealan. The six Senior Missionaries had united in choosing Mr. Alexander Maedonald, Priest in the Island of Barra; six of the Junior Missionaries had voted for Mr. Alexander Maedonald, Priest in Knoydart; and a solitary vote had been given to a third Candidate of inferior standing. Bishop Hay in communicating the result to Propaganda added his own recommendation to the Candidate of the Senior Missionaries, who was accordingly elected by the Congregation to succeed the late Bishop Maedonald. In the matter of his own Coadjutor, Bishop Hay proposed Mr. John Geddes, with the option of Mr. Robert Grant, at Douay, or of Mr. Alexander Cameron, who had for some years admirably discharged the duties of a Missionary. But after mentioning and describing the merits of the three, he adds, "I must confess, that with common consent, I must say, Mr. Geddes, 'Non est inventus similis illi.'"

The latter part of August, the Bishop passed among his old friends in the Enzie; his health was now quite re-established. From Freshome, he sent Mr. Geddes a Narrative of the Proceedings at the late Meeting. The appointment of a Coadjutor had been suggested to him by several persons, unasked; and the general voice coincided with his own. He had no objections, however, that Mr. Geddes should remain in Spain

for another year, but his Consecration must not be delayed. "From the necessities of Aberdeen, I am to be again in the yoke, and stay there, this winter."

The result of the Election in the Highland Vicariate, gave great displeasure to the supporters of the unsuccessful Candidate proposed by the six Junior Missionaries. They misrepresented Bishop Hay's conduct in the matter, and set on foot a persevering Correspondence with Rome, in the vain hope of superseding the choice of the Senior Missionaries. It continued for many months to give much pain and no small scandal to all concerned; but by-and-bye the affair blew over, and was forgotten.

This Autumn, Sir John Dalrymple set off on a tour through Spain and Italy, for his Lady's health. Bishop Hay gave him Letters of hearty recommendation to his Foreign friends, and among the rest to Mr. Geddes, "as our great and good friend, to whom we are under obligations which we can never repay." It was rumoured, even then, that Lord George Gordon was busy in mischievous intrigues, of which the public heard more, before many months elapsed.

The custom of proclaiming Banns of Marriage had been slowly growing in the large towns; in some of the Country Districts it had never been discontinued; and good had never failed to result from it. In some Congregations, however, an alarm had arisen, as if the introduction of the practice might give offence to the Ministers. Mr. John Reid, at Preshome, was one of those who shared in this alarm, and the Bishop took some pains to set it at rest; urging, that if there had been any intention of superseding the necessity for their people being also Proclaimed in the Parish Church, and of their defrauding the Legal Authorities of their dues, then there might have been ground for alarm. But such an intention had never been thought of. As the sole object of such Proclamations was to detect any impediments to Marriage that might exist, an object which the laws of the Country also had in view, the Bishop maintained that so far from discountenancing the custom, the authorities ought to approve of it. However, he promised Mr. Reid that nothing final should be determined, till it had been made a subject of consultation at the next Annual Meeting. [B. Hay to Mr. J. Reid, November 28.]

Many similar matters of Ecclesiastical arrangement now occupied the leisure moments of the Bishop. Candlemas-day had come to be kept as a Holiday of Obligation, but in consequence of "the Public Ceremony annexed to it," and in order to insure uniformity, the Bishop issued a Circular Letter to the Clergy, a few weeks before, directing that this day (January 18, 1780) together with Ash-Wednesday, should be regarded as a "Day of the greatest devotion," to be celebrated by Public Prayers and Sermon, and by the usual Blessing and Distribution of Candles. The people should therefore be exhorted, on the preceding Sunday, to attend; and the customary Offerings for the service of the Altar should be collected in the way hitherto practised in each Congregation.

February 3rd had been set apart by Royal Proclamation, as a General Fast-Day throughout the Nation, on account of the critical circumstances of the times. Bishop Hay issued a short Pastoral Address on the occasion, "to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, under his Jurisdiction." As it was certainly the duty of Catholics, as Citizens and Members of the State, to contribute their share to so laudable a purpose; and as they were obliged by the State to suspend their ordinary labours and employments on that day, he had thought it highly proper to have Public Prayers upon it, together with a Sermon, in which the people should be reminded of the public judgments of God, which the sins of a Nation may bring down upon it; and in which they should be exhorted to a sincere repentance for their sins, and to earnest supplication, during the Holy Mysteries, that the judgments merited by sin might be averted, and that peace and tranquility might be restored to this afflicted Nation." "At the same time," the Bishop continues, "as it is the duty of every Member of Society, not only to wish well to his Country, and the State to which he belongs, as the light of Nature itself teaches, but also as the Holy Scriptures expressly command—'to make supplications, prayers, and intercessions for Kings, and for all that are in high stations, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them (1 Tim. II.); and, as it is most desirable and highly becoming that we and all our Brethren should observe an exact uniformity in the public exercise of that duty, we have, therefore, judged

it advisable that the following Clause be inserted, after mentioning the Church, in recommending to our people the usual objects of their Prayers, before Divine Service begins:—

“ Let us also recommend to the mercy of God our Sovereign the King, the Queen, and all the Royal Family, with all our Civil Magistrates and Rulers, under whom we live; that Almighty God may bless them, and direct them in all their doings to what is most for God’s glory, their own salvation, and the good of the people under their charge; “ that we may all lead a quiet and peaceable life under them.” And this we recommend to be done on all Public Days of Obligation; and that you intimate to your people on the Sunday before, that you will have Public Prayers on the 3rd of February. Aberdeen, Geo. Daulion.”

It was, of course, desirable that no time should be lost in Consecrating the Bishop-Elect for the Highland District; but stormy weather in the Western Islands first detained him, and, after he had reached Sealau, a heavy fall of snow rendered it impossible for Bishop Hay to go from Aberdeen to meet him there. Those difficulties, incident to a Northern climate, gave way as the season advanced; and, on Passion Sunday, March 12, Bishop Hay had the happiness of Consecrating his old Fellow-Student Bishop of Polemon. The Ceremony was performed in the Bishop’s Room at Sealau, and with the assistance only of Mr. Alexander Cameron and Mr. James Macgillivray, in virtue of a Dispensation procured from Rome for that purpose.

Ever since his Accession to the Lowland Vicariate, on the Death of Bishop Grant, Bishop Hay had been meditating the introduction of more Canonical Discipline among the Clergy. The result was, a Pastoral Letter, which, from its great size, might rather be called a Treatise, on the Duties of the Clergy.\* It begins thus:— “ G \* \* \* \* by the mercy of God and the favour of the II \* \* \* S \* \*, B \* \* \* \* of D \* \* \* \* and V \* \* \* \* A \* \* \* \* \* \* \* in S \* \* \* \* \* \* to all the Clergy under his Jurisdiction, both Secular and Regular, Health and Benediction.” The Treatise is divided into Sections—(1), On the Sanctity annexed to the Priesthood; (2), On the

Sanctity required for the Pastoral Charge; (3), On the Sanctity that belongs to the Character of an Apostle; (4), On the Sanctity which the Church requires in her Ministers; citing Acts of Councils, &c., on Clerical Behaviour; on the Virtues, especially, which they are charged to practise, and the Amusements, &c., which they must avoid; of Study; of Prayer; even of their exterior behaviour; concluding in the words of 1 Peter, II. i.—Quapropter, Dilect. Fratres. . . . mundemus nos ab omni inquinamento earnis et spiritus, perficentes sanctificationem in timore Domini, &c. G—D—. The object which the Bishop contemplated in this elaborate Treatise is best explained in a Letter which accompanied the Copy sent to Mr. John Reid, at Preshome.

“ March 6, 1780.

“ Dear Sir,—On perusing the Pastoral Letter which goes along with this, you will easily see the motives which induced me to write it, and I make no doubt but your piety and zeal will immediately enter into the spirit and views of it. Indeed, as you are now one of our Senior Brethren, and the very next to myself and my two companions, Mr. Geddes and Mr. Guthrie, I must have a particular dependence upon your support in whatever tends to support the spirit of Piety and Religion among others. The necessity of our affairs having obliged us, of late, to call home some before their time, it is much to be feared that they, as well as others, do not sufficiently reflect upon the sanctity of the state of life which they have embraced, and cannot be supposed to be properly acquainted with the Laws and Canons of the Church relating to Ecclesiastics, especially those that have the charge of souls. This was certainly my own case, before I set myself of late to inform myself properly of them; but, having found how things stand, I thought it duty incumbent on me, from the charge I now have, to communicate the same to my Brethren for their information. Convinced that any deviation that may have happened in our conduct from what our state and character requires, is only owing to our ignorance, or not reflecting properly upon the matter. I flatter myself that a proper information will contribute much, through the blessing of God, to correct any thing that may be amiss, or prevent what might otherwise have happened; and to procure this desirable effect, the example of the Seniors will have the greatest influence; especially, if joined to their fervent prayers, to Almighty God, for His benediction on my poor endeavours to promote His glory and the salvation of all those he has placed under my charge. Both these I expect from your piety and zeal; and earnestly praying God to bless you at all times, I remain, with very great regard, dear Sir, your most affectionate, humble Servant,

“ GEORGE HAY.”

\* There is a Copy at Blair’s College—12mo, pp. 96. Abbe Macpherson, in two words, gives the History of this Treatise—“ Because it demanded too much, it did no good.”

On the 9th of April, good Cardinal Castelli died at Rome, after a long and tedious illness. The obligations under which the Mission lay to his charity were considered sufficient to justify Bishop Hay in calling on all his Clergy to say Mass thrice for the eternal rest of his soul.—[B. Hay to Mr. J. Reid, May 11.] His place at Propaganda was supplied by Cardinal Antonelli.

The Bishop paid a visit of Business to Edinburgh during the month of May, and began his Journey to the North again, June 9. With characteristic precision, he desired Mr. Thomson to give some of the Missionaries notice of his route by Drummond, Stobhall, Deeside, and Glenlivat, with the intention of reaching the Enzie towards the end of July.

A further relaxation of the Law regarding the Obligation of certain Holidays was obtained this Summer; Ex audiencia SSmi., June 25. The Precept of hearing Mass and abstaining from servile work was left binding on the Catholics of Scotland only on the following Holidays:—Christmas; the Circumcision; Epiphany; Ascension; Corpus Christi; the Annunciation and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the Festivals of SS. Peter and Paul; of All Saints; and of the Patron Saint of the Place, when it is kept. On Easter Monday and Tuesday, and on Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, the Precept of hearing Mass was left binding, but not the obligation of abstaining from servile work. Vigils annexed to the Festivals now dispensed from, were transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, together with the Precept of Fasting. And, as the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul sometimes falls in the Hay Harvest, and the Festival of the Assumption in the Barley Harvest, the Bishops were authorised, in such cases, to permit manual labour in the fields, provided Mass had been heard.

It was now the turn of the Scottish Catholics to watch with amazement the spectacle of the Capital of England given up to the mercy of an undisciplined rabble. For several days, London was in a state of anarchy; the mob and its mad leader, Lord George Gordon, plundered and sacked, and burned wherever it pleased them to go. Their fury was at first principally directed against Catholic Property, more especially against Catholic Chapels. It was then diverted to the Residences of Public Men, who had made them-

selves conspicuous by their advocacy of Catholic Relief; and, finally, everything representing order and good government became a mark for the In-  
cendiary. The Catholic Body in Scotland was at first a little uneasy at the possible spread of the contagion throughout the Kingdom. But it was now discovered how effectual was the legal protection implied in the recognition of their right to pecuniary Compensation for losses. The prospect of a second demand for Damages infused unusual life and vigour into the measures of the Magistrates in Scotland, and the crisis passed with nothing more serious than a few muttered threats.

As the time for Mr. John Geddes' Consecration approached, arrangements were made for the Journey of Mr. Alexander Cameron to Spain, to take his place in the Scots College. This young Priest had already secured the esteem of Bishop Hay, by his ability and by the testimony of his intimate friends to his genial and good heart. “I have often regretted,” the Bishop remarks, “that my particular situation hindered me from being so well acquainted with him as I could have wished; and, just when I began to have an opportunity of knowing him better, I was obliged to part with him. However, I hope the use we made of the little time we then had has laid the foundation of a mutual confidence which will last and improve for the glory of our great Master and the good of our common concerns.” [B. Hay to B. Geddes, November 29.] Mr. Cameron left Sealan, July 27th, carrying with him the new Rules for the Spanish College, with the latest Revision and Improvements made in them by both of the Scottish Bishops. He passed through Edinburgh, on his way to Glasgow, whence he sailed, August 17. He reached Compostella, September 12th, and, ten days later, Mr. Geddes welcomed him to Valladolid.\*

The Bishop was occupied at this time in collecting Statistics of his District, including the number of Catholics, of Communicants, of Converts, and of Apostates in each Mission. Besides these Returns, he requested the Missionaries to send him Inventories of their Vestments and Altar-linens, with a view to supplying their deficiencies—[B. Hay to Mr. J. Reid, November 19]—and recommended, from his own experience,

\* Unfinished Notes of his Journey, in MS. at Pres-  
home, of this date.

the use of a Chest of Drawers to hold the Vestments at full length. He ordered, from Edinburgh, an "Antepend" for his own Chapel at Aberdeen, "pretty neat, with red and white colours in it."—[To Mr. J. Thomson, December 5.] He also directed Mr. Geddes to bring home with him, from Spain, some Missals, Copes, and "Altar-Utensils."

The Statistical Report (*Relatio*) of the District, when finished, was translated by Mr. Thomson for transmission to Rome, October 24. A Copy of it, also sent to the Nuncio at Brussels, drew forth a Letter in Reply, expressive of the gratification it had afforded him. The Returns showed a Catholic population, in the Lowland District, of 6,566 souls, of whom nearly a third were contributed by the Enzie alone, and about 65 per cent. by the Estates of the Duke of Gordon, in the two Counties of Aberdeen and Banff.—[Mr. John Reid to B. Geddes, January 31, 1784.] Glenlivat and Edinburgh returned the same number (800), and the Mission at Glasgow simply did not exist. The number of Missionary Priests at this time was nineteen.

The arrangements for Mr. Geddes' Consecration were now complete. The King of Spain had given his consent, and settled on the Bishop Elect an Annual Pension of £106, chargeable on the wealthy See of Cuenca. According to the Spanish custom, the Duke of Hijar accepted the Office of *Patrinos*, in his own name, and in the name of his brother-in-law, the Count of Montijo, who was then with the King at the Escorial; an Office which implied payment of the expenses incident to the Consecration. These preliminary arrangements gave great satisfaction to Bishop Hay. "Deo Gratias," he replied, "the happiness of my Friend increases my own; and those who are friends to my Friend are friends to me. May God reward them. . . ."—[To Mr. J. Geddes, November 29.] The Ceremony of Consecration took place with great solemnity at Madrid, on St. Andrew's-Day, in the Church of the Nuns of the Visitation, where this admirable man, together with the Bishops Elect of Urgel, and of Almeria, was promoted to the Episcopate by Francis Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo. Bishop Geddes afterwards dined with his Patriarchs. The Duke, knowing his fondness for children, contrived, in a graceful way, to make him a present of a valuable Cross and Ring, which the

Duke's young son, during a game of play with the Bishop, placed in his hands.—[Told me by the Rev. C. Gordon, Aberdeen.] The Archbishop made enquiries about Bishop Hay, and desired Bishop Geddes to procure a Copy of his Works for the Library at Toledo. He also presented Bishop Geddes with a good Topaz-ring, which he had himself long worn.

A few days after the Ceremony, the newly-Consecrated Prelate thus addressed his Friend in Scotland:—" . . . I have now to tell you that Mr. More's affair (that is, his own Consecration as Bishop of Morocco, *in partibus*) was concluded on the last day of last month, in the Church of the Visitation here (Madrid), in a very solemn manner. This day your Friend was presented to the King by the Duke of Hijar; tomorrow, he will have the like honour with regard to the Princes and Princesses. But that this grandeur may not intoxicate him, he intends to retire in a few days to Valladolid, where he will pass the Feast of Christmas; and in the beginning of the year he will set out for Paris. I have met with a great deal of kindness from the honest Spaniards on this occasion, and find them so very obliging, that I am sensibly affected at the thought of leaving them. But you and my Country call me, and I must obey. Were I to give you a list of those who, I have reason to think, are pleased to be my Friends in Madrid, I am afraid you would suspect me of ostentation. I shall not, therefore, mention them at present; but turn my thoughts towards my good old Friends in Scotland, of whom I think very often, even in the midst of the grandeur of Spain."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, December 4.] Bishop Geddes returned to Valladolid in company with Mr. Shepherd, Superior of the English College there, who had gone to Madrid on purpose to witness the Consecration of the Bishop, and had resided in the same house with him. Not the least precious among many rare gifts with which Nature had endowed Bishop Geddes, and which he had carefully cultivated, was this power of attracting the goodwill of every one with whom he happened to have any connection. The occasion of his Consecration, and of his leaving Spain, brought it out very strongly in the Spaniards. It followed him home to his own Country, and made his return thither an event of joy to every one who had even known him. Occurring before the irri-

tation produced by the proposed Catholic Relief Bill had quite subsided, it was like pouring oil on the troubled waters.

Several changes occurred, during this year, among the Clergy. Mr. Paul Macpherson, who had lately finished his Studies in Spain, and had returned to the Mission, was appointed to Aberdeen in the place of Mr. Oliver, whose weak health obliged him to retire to a small Country Mission, at the Mill of Smithston. Mr. Johnson, late Provincial of the Jesuits in Scotland, died this year. He was a man of considerable ability, and had tact enough to make his Management popular with the Secular Clergy while it lasted. He was a native of Braemar, and his real name was Patrick Gordon; but on returning from the Exile consequent on his connection with the Prince in 1745, he always retained the name of Johnson, which he had adopted. The greater part of the Spiritual and Controversial Songs which Bishop Hay, a few years afterwards, collected and published, were the composition of Mr. Johnson, an authorship more complimentary to his orthodoxy than to his literary accomplishments.

The aged Mr. Allen Macdonald (Ranaldson), in Edinburgh, was approaching the close of his long life. Bishop Hay begged Mr. Thomson to assure him of the Bishop's best wishes. "May Alm. God be with him, and grant him a happy passage, whenever the hour comes! O, my dear Mr. Thomson, how much need have we, while health and strength is with us, to prepare ourselves effectually for that important business, by a continual attention to the concerns of our souls, and a daily and earnest endeavour to advance in a detachment from all creatures, and a holy union with God! Alas! if this be not done in time, it will be but poorly done at death, or in our last sickness; and, even though we should receive all the Helps of our Religion, and die in the grace of God, how much is yet to be suffered, if our attachments to creatures, and, especially, to ourselves and our own wills, be not broken beforehand."—[B. Hay to Mr. J. Thomson, November 6.]

To this period of Bishop Hay's busy life must be referred the preparation of a Work on Christian Doctrine, by which he is probably more widely known than by any other of his Writings. It is entitled—"The Sincere Christian Instructed in the Faith of Christ from the Written Word"—a Summary of Revealed Religion, arranged in the

more distinct and emphatic form of Question and Answer, and illustrated and proved by copious extracts from Holy Scripture. It is controversial, rather defensively than offensively, setting forth the reasons in behalf of disputed points of Catholic Faith and practice, rather than impugning the opinions or the practices of other Religious Denominations. "The view I have had in this present Work," says the Bishop in his Introduction, "is to assist the most unlearned; and, beginning with the first rudiments of Christianity, to conduct the reader, step by step, through the whole body of the principal Truths of Revelation, so that the knowledge of one Truth may serve as an introduction to those which follow after. The Sacred Scriptures are an inexhaustible fountain of heavenly knowledge, but are commonly less used than they might be, in illustrating and establishing the Truths of Religion. A text or two, hinted at now and then, seem lost in the multitude of other reflections and reasons which surround them; but, when the principal stress, both of the explication and the proof, is laid upon these Divine Oracles, and a number of them are placed in the proper order for illustrating the point in question, this gives an incredible force to what is proposed—shows that it is God himself who speaks, and cuts off all occasions for human sophistry to enter."

On its appearance, in 1781, the Author made great efforts to secure a wide circulation for this Work. Many of the Clergy were engaged to procure purchasers for it in their Congregations, at half-price, and where people were too poor to buy, Copies were to be given away, wealthy friends contributing by their subscriptions to refund the loss. The Bishop made a present of a Copy to his sister and to each of his Protestant relations.

The singular excellence of the Work was immediately recognised. Demand for Copies poured in from all parts of the Kingdom; the English Bishops purchased largely; Archbishop Carpenter applied for permission from the Author to publish an Edition at Dublin, which was soon followed by another. The Author seems to have been much gratified by this mode of approbation. "Our Irish friends," he writes, "have done great honour to 'The Sincere Christian,' " The good Archbishop paid it the further compliment of recommending it to all his Clergy as a model of Catechetical Instruction. When writing to Bishop

Geddes on the subject of Copies of the new Dublin Edition sent to Scotland, he mentioned his regret that the paper was not to his mind; but added, the printer had promised something better for the Second Part, "when the great and good Bishop Hay will please to furnish us with it."—[June 2, 1783.] A second Scottish Edition of the Work appeared in 1793. Since then, many Editions have followed in the three Kingdoms and in America; and the Work has been Translated into Foreign Languages.

Considerable bitterness was excited at the time, among many Protestants, by certain passages in the Appendix to "The Sincere Christian"—a Treatise on the Possibility of Salvation out of the Church of Christ. It was the opinion, even of some of the Author's friends, that he had stated the case rather more harshly and inexorably than was consistent with the recognised possibility of invincible or insuperable ignorance; an opinion in which many are still inclined to join. When the Second Scotch Edition was in the Press, the Bishop, who had heard that such an opinion was entertained, applied to Bishop Geddes, to whom, for one, it had been attributed; requesting him to point out anything that seemed to him to require correction or amendment. In reply, Bishop Geddes said—"I do not really remember any particulars to be amended in 'The Sincere Christian.' I remember, indeed, to have said to yourself, that I did not entirely approve of your calling so much in question the salvation of every one out of the outward Communion of the Church, as I thought it very probable that some are saved out of it, in consequence of the continuation of their invincible ignorance, and of their innocence after they are come to the years of discretion. But I cannot venture on urging you to change anything on that subject."—[August 20, 1793.]

To other judges, again, this Treatise did not appear in an exceptionable light. Bishop Talbot expressed his entire approval of it; and when a certain noble Lord was criticising it unfavourably, the Bishop frankly told him that he admired it to such a degree, as that he should have thought it an honour to be the Author of it; and that the outcry against it seemed to him the best proof of its propriety, if not even of its necessity.—[B. Talbot to B. Hay, June 17, 1783.]

Abbot Arbuthnot had been solicited by Bishop

Hay to get an Edition of the Work printed at Ratisbon. The Monk replied that this excellent Dissertation on Salvation out of the Church of Christ was one of the best he had ever read on that subject; but the terror of the Emperor Joseph was before his eyes; and he pronounced it to be dangerous at that time to print such a Treatise, especially in an Imperial Town.—[March 4, 1782.]

Although such an arrangement a little anticipates the Chronological order of Events, the history of "The Sincere Christian" seems imperfect, without an additional notice of another Work, which was, in fact, originally regarded, and even named, as the "Second Part of 'The Sincere Christian.'" On its appearance in 1783, it was entitled, "The Devout Christian Instructed in the Faith of Christ." In replying to some strictures of his Coadjutor, on this title, the Bishop says—"Your remarks on the title of 'The Devout Christian' may, I think, be reduced to this one question, Whether a sincere person, who is brought to embrace the Catholic faith, and is, of course, really desirous of serving God, and saving his own soul, can, with propriety, be called a Devout Christian? Something might be said on both sides, but I think, without any difficulty, he may be said to be a Devout Christian, *in fieri*, though not entirely *in factu esse*; and, as you observe, few, I believe, will advert to the difference."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, June 30, 1783.—"Devoted Christian" would probably express the Bishop's meaning with greater exactness.]

"The Devout Christian Instructed" is a comprehensive summary of the Law of God. Like its predecessor, "The Sincere Christian," it is filled to overflowing with quotations and illustrations taken from Holy Scripture. It no doubt represents the elaborate result of years of the Author's study in the Sacred volume; and much that he had collected in his "Codex," by way of arranging and preparing subjects for his Sermons, was transferred into this new Work, and a little expanded and developed. Though labouring under the disadvantage of excessive dryness, and the absence of anything approaching to beauty or gracefulness in expression—a disadvantage which must be acknowledged in all the Bishop's printed Works—"The Devout Christian" is a profound mine of instruction and of Scriptural illustration.

A similar tribute of approbation awaited it in England and in Ireland. Bishop Talbot, in his anxiety to have it as widely circulated as possible, proposed his readiness to be accountable for any number of Copies "of the whole Sincere Christian," that Bishop Hay might choose to send him. Nevertheless, from its occupying ground in common with several other Treatises, and, it must be added, from the forbidding dryness of its treatment, and the unrelieved heaviness of its style, "The Devout Christian" has now attained the same popularity as "The Sincere Christian." It is now chiefly valued as an inestimable Work of reference for the Clergy and for Catechists.

January 10, the Venerable Bishop Challoner was seized with an attack of paralysis, while sitting at table with his Chaplains: a second stroke, two days later, laid him low, in the 90th year of his age and the 41st of his Episcopate. It must have been felt by Bishop Hay, as a circumstance compensating for much of the anxiety attending his long residence in London, in 1778 and 1779, that it permitted him to enjoy so much of the society of his aged Friend, who possessed his mental faculties, in unimpaired vigour, till the latest hour of his life. With the news of his Death, in January, 1781, began the fulfilment of the Sacred Compact which the Bishop and his friend had entered into long before, by which the survivor bound himself to remember his Friend at the Altar, three times in the week, till his time also should come.

After a residence of nearly eleven years in Spain, Bishop Geddes bade adieu to the Scotch College, at Valladolid, February 23, and turned his face homewards. He had provided himself with Letters of Introduction from men of influence at Madrid, to Lord Hillsborough and Lord George Germain. He rested a day at Palmeia, another at Burgos: on his way through Guy-puscoa, he dined at Loyola, and visited a beautiful Church—" You may guess some of my reflections, when I was in the Room in which St. Ignatius was born, and in that in which he lay during the cure of his leg."—[B. Geddes to Abato Grant, April 29.] By Bilboa and Biscay he reached Bayonne; and thence travelled to Paris, in fifteen days, in a Chaise, all alone, reading, thinking, and sleeping, as he felt inclined; remained there ten days, and, on Palm Sunday,

(April 8), reached Douay, where he Ordained two of the Scotch Students, Deacons.

On reaching London, he found Letters from Bishop Hay, awaiting his arrival at Coglan's, the Publisher's, and enclosing others of introduction to several public men; especially desiring him to procure an audience of Lord George Germain and of Sir Grey Cooper, Secretary to Lord North, on whom he must wait between eight and nine in the morning. " It is of consequence to cultivate the good will of those in power; as the Divine Providence has given us the opportunity of doing so, we may safely suppose it is agreeable to the Will of our good God that we should make use of it; and it is very reasonable they should know our good dispositions, and earnest desires of demeaning ourselves on all occasions as good citizens and dutiful subjects."—[B. Hay, Edinburgh, to B. Geddes, April 12.] The Bishop hoped to see his Friend in Edinburgh, about the middle of May, so as to have his company for eight or ten day before the arrival of Bishop Maedonald. The Bishops were to have a Meeting, on some affairs of paramount consequence, and whose success depended on absolute secrecy for the present. ". . . I ever am, my most dear and honoured Sir, your most affectionate Friend and very humble Servant."

The Meeting of the three Bishops was protracted till after the middle of June. It was more than twenty years since they had met as Fellow-Students in Rome. The accession of Bishop Geddes to their Counsels received a happy and a characteristic inauguration in the adjustment of a dispute that had been pending for months between Bishop Hay and Principal Gordon, of Paris. The subject in debate was the Maintenance of Mr. John Gordon, the Principal's brother, who, after resigning the office of Assistant in the Scotch College, in Spain, and serving the Cabrach Mission in an eccentric way for a year or two, had finally lost the balance of his reason, and was at this time in confinement in France. The Mission and the Scotch College in Paris could not agree as to which of them was bound to maintain him. In May, 1780, Bishop Hay had sent the Principal a long pleading in behalf of exonerating the Mission, but adding—" There is nothing I more desire than that all my Brethren, and especially those in whom I place a particular confidence, should tell me their real sentiments

on every subject that occurs, with all manner of liberty and freedom. . . ." The Correspondence, thus begun, was continued for some time with much acrimony on the part of the Principal: how the Bishop maintained his own side may be gathered from the following Letter:—

" September 16, 1780.

" Dear Sir,—I received both your last a few days ago, the long one of the 19th August, sent, I suppose, by a private hand, and the other of the 28th do., by Post, in both which I find myself used in so unhandsome and ungenerous a manner, as I own has hurt me a good deal. You torture my words to make them speak what never entered into my head, and you reproach me with consequences, from your own interpretation of them, which I abhor. You attribute to me intentions of the most ungenerous nature, and you insult me for them, though they have no existence but in your own mind. This is a treatment, Mr. Gordon, which I certainly never deserved at your hand, and which I could not have expected from your professions of friendship. However, inasmuch as they are personal, and regard only myself, I most sincerely forgive them, and shall say no more about them; but, as there are also some other things in those Letters which are connected with the public, I beg leave, if possible, without giving offence, to tell you my mind about them.

" . . . You throw up to me my riches, and make a handle from that to conclude that I am obliged to maintain your brother, because, forsooth, I requested his being sent to Spain. I have reason to thank God, who has provided for me abundantly, both to supply my own wants, and help others. The entire confidence I reposed in you, as a friend, when here, engaged me to communicate my affairs with you, but little did I foresee you would have made such a use of my confidence, or exposed my affairs to others, as you have done, at least, to the tenor of your Letter. It would, however, have been doing me a piece of justice, had you taken into your consideration everything I told you about them. You will remember that when I told you what I had, I also informed you that, from the solecisms of Religion and Charity, I had been induced to employ a very considerable sum in supporting Mr. Ba[gnell], which, from the unlucky turn of his affairs, was in danger of being wholly lost. I must now inform you, that at this ensuing Martinmas, there is upwards of £650 Sterling, betwixt principal and interest, due me from that quarter, and that gentleman's affairs are in such a situation, that it is a very dubious case, if ever, or when I shall receive a farthing of it. Another article of my income, which you know of, as you justly observe in yours of the 15th May, depends on so many contingencies that I lay no stress on it, nor do I see any can be laid on it as a resource in case of need; and a little after, you acknowledge that you don't believe it will stand good for

two years. Now, if you pay a due consideration to these two articles, what you say of my riches will lose greatly of its weight, especially if you also add debt, to a considerable amount, in which I am involved on account of Religion only, which will, indeed, be paid in time, though it considerably diminishes my income in the meantime, and the continual demands which come upon me from different quarters, which my readiness to supply, on all proper occasions, serves only to increase, and make more frequent. . . ."

The Bishop concludes this defence of himself, by offering to pay two hundred of the six hundred livres proposed for the Board of Mr. Gordon; but on certain conditions, which the Principal subsequently refused, threatening the Bishop with a Law-suit. The real point at issue was this: whether Priests who had studied in the Scotch College, Paris, were, strictly speaking, Members of the Scotch Missionary Body, or not, with mutual rights and obligations in relation to it, like other Missionaries. The dispute hung in abeyance till the arrival of Bishop Geddes, when it was finally and amicably settled by the three Bishops and the Principal, in person. He signed a Declaration to the effect, that Students of the Scotch College, Paris, were bound to serve the Missions in Scotland, when desired to do so by the Principal; on the other hand, it was stipulated that the Funds of the Mission, and another Subsidiary Fund, called "Hackets' Money," should provide two-thirds of Mr. Gordon's Board, the remainder being contributed in equal shares by the Principal, and by Bishop Hay and his Coadjutor, out of their private income; and the Principal taking on himself the charge of seeing that his Brother was properly cared for.

The Mission at Auchenhalrig so long the scene of Mr. Godsman's virtuous labours, had been supplied, soon after his death in 1769, by Mr. Alexander Geddes; a man of eccentric genius, whose early career we have already sketched. For a time, he gave much satisfaction, frequently discharging the double duty of the neighbouring Mission at Preshome, and attracting a good deal of popularity as a Preacher. His ultimate want of success is to be primarily attributed in great part to his inferior skill as an economist. He speculated in house property at considerable loss; and he built a part of the present Chapel at Tynet, on the eastern side of the Park at Gordon Castle; leaving it to his successor, to complete it as it now stands. He amused his leisure

hours in translating the select Satires of Horace into English Verse; a performance which gained him much applause among the leading arbiters of literary reputation, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Reid, and Dr. Beattie, of Aberdeen. Unfortunately, he also ventured to criticise some of the Measures adopted by the Administrators of the Mission Fund, to which Bishop Hay had committed himself. Mr. Geddes' opposition, encouraged and participated in, by Mr. John Reid at Preshome, had found 'favour among many of the Clergy, much to the mortification of Bishop Hay, whose measures were freely canvassed, and if not openly opposed, were severely censured, and sometimes thwarted. This was the unhappy commencement of mistrust and of disputes, between the Bishop and Mr. Geddes, which, aggravated by perhaps undue severity on the side of the Bishop, and by the constitutional irritability of Mr. Geddes' character, ended in an open rupture. Yet it was the opinion of men who had the highest esteem for Bishop Hay, that if Bishop Geddes, the "angel of peace," had returned to Scotland in time enough to arrest the breach, it might have been repaired; and perhaps the subsequent history of his unhappy relation might have been very different. Alas! not only the blissful results which wait on the presence of the peace-makers, but the desolation which is too often the monument of their absence, equally attest their pre-eminent benediction.

During Mr. A. Geddes' residence at Traquair, the foundation of a long and intimate friendship was laid between himself and Lord Linton; who, on the death of his aged father, at 81, the sixth Earl, at Paris, March 28, 1779, succeeded to the title of Traquair. On his way to visit his noble friend in London, early in 1779, Mr. Geddes passed through Edinburgh, a few days after the Riots, and we are indebted to his graphic pen for several details of the state of affairs at that time in the Scottish Capital. His society was much courted by the men of letters there; he dined with Lord Kames; he made the personal acquaintance of Principal Robertson, and of Sir John Dalrymple. On his first arrival, the populace had not detected him as a Priest; but, before long, he began to be recognised, and in consequence, found it better to pursue his journey to London; which he did, as far as Newcastle, by the Diligence, a roomy Post-chaise, holding

three persons; going by Kelso, sleeping at Wooler, starting again at two in the morning, and reaching the Tyne, by way of Morpeth, in time for dinner. He remained in Newcastle for some days, as the guest of M. Cordel, the worthy Priest there. When he was again in motion, it took him a day and a half to reach York, and forty-six hours more to arrive in London. His friend, Lord Traquair, succeeded to the title only a few days after Mr. Geddes had joined him; and as Scottish Catholics were then an object of much interest both in and out of Parliament, Mr. Geddes was much made of, by many of the principal Catholic nobility; his introduction to Lord Petre, in particular, was of signal service to him, on his return to London a few months later. The Scottish Wit had also the honour of an introduction to Samuel Johnson.

By the end of the year, 1779, it had been amicably arranged that he should leave the Mission. So late as the end of February, 1780, Bishop Hay expressed a desire to see him at Aberdeen on his way South, with the hope of making some pecuniary settlement which might be agreeable to him. Unhappily, on the very Sunday in Eastertide which Bishop Hay was spending among his Friends in the Enzie, Mr. Geddes was imprudent enough to accompany a small party of Friends, in the afternoon, to hear Mr. Nichols, the Minister of Banff, Preach. His Friends were the Earl and Countess of Findlater, and a Miss Barbara Stewart, a Catholic lady in the immediate vicinity of Preshome. The Earl was a Protestant, and, two years before, had married a daughter of a General Murray in the Austrian Service, and a Catholic. It was even whispered, for a short time, that Lord Findlater himself was inclined to Conversion. The young Countess had, ever since her residence at Cullen House, attended Prayers at Preshome, on Days of Obligation, with marked regularity, and had been a subject of the Bishop's especial commendation. We learn that, at this very time, his arrangements for his journey from Preshome to Buchan included a visit at Cullen House.

So unusual an event as a Priest's visit to a Presbyterian Church, was instantly blown over the whole County, and even as far as Aberdeen. It met the Bishop at every turn of his route for weeks afterwards. He had a personal interview with Mr. Geddes, on the subject,

before leaving the Enzie; but, as it seems, without coming to any determination. May 9 he wrote Mr. Geddes a stern Letter, in the following terms:—

May 9, 1780.

“Sir,—I received yours, to which I can give no other answer than what I gave you by word of mouth at Preshome. I have no manner of objection to your disposing of your houses to the best advantage you can, but as for my advancing you money for them, it is what I cannot do; and, indeed, Mr. Geddes, I must own that I don’t think your behaviour entitles you to any great favour from me, that way, though I were able; for, whatever you may think of what passed between us at Preshome, I was very far from being satisfied with your part of the conversation. I wanted to speak to you as a Friend, and, as such, to give you my best advice; but I soon saw it was to no purpose, as you seemed determined to put a bold face upon everything I should say, and run me down in your usual way by dint of clamour. I, therefore, determined to drop the affair in peace, till I should consider further upon the matter. I am sorry to find that the offence taken at your conduct is daily increasing. Your Debts are a matter of great clamour, and I fear will turn out much to your dishonour. I also understand you are become a hunted, contrary to the Sacred Canons of the Church, to the no small scandal of the Catholics of that Country; and the late unhappy step you took the Sunday I was in the Enzie, has found its way to this place, and met me in different places in Buehan, to the great offence and scandal of all our people. Even those of your best friends are grieved to the heart about it, and the more so, as it appears that one of the principal channels by which it came to this place, was from yourself, in a ludicrous Letter you wrote on the subject. For my own part, I am in the utmost distress on your account; nor do I see how I can well satisfy the clamours I receive on all hands against your conduct, or free my own conscience in the sight of God from the guilt of co-operating with the offence you have given, but by suspending you *a Divinis*. Indeed, in the way you have been going on, and the dispositions you seem to be of, this, I daresay, will be no great hardship upon you, but it will be of service to me, both in my own conscience and in the eyes of the world; and, therefore, I flatter myself you will submit peaceably to it, if I shall determine to do it. In the meantime, in hopes of this, I remain, praying Almighty God to direct all to His glory, Dr. Sir, your afflicted but sincere well-wisher, etc.”

At first, the effect produced by this Letter seemed likely to lead to what all must have wished. Mr. Geddes, almost by return of Post, replied in terms of becoming regret, and expressing his resolution to make a declaration of similar

sentiments to his Congregation, the following Sunday. The promise, however, was better than the performance; and the contemplated apology turned out to be rather a vindication of his own conduct in the affair. The Bishop now gave him the alternative of leaving his Mission within a fortnight, or of Suspension; and in the month of October, we find the unhappy man at Traquair, complaining bitterly to his friend at Preshome, of his anomalous position. “Without faculties, and under continual apprehension of incurring a suspension at unawares; for you will allow it is somewhat difficult to abstain from defending one’s self in points that seem manifestly defensible. I am resolved, however, strictly to comply with his injunctions; for, I rather wish him to be deemed imperious and dogmatical, than myself disobedient or contumacious.” [To Mr. J. Reid, Oct. 10, 1780.] The Bishop at last cut the matter short, by giving Mr. Geddes “Dimissorials” towards the end of the year; he was thus enabled to seek and to obtain employment in more congenial circumstances. Mr. Thomson, at least, concurred with Bishop Hay in thinking this termination of his dispute as favourable as Mr. Geddes could have expected. The Bishop, with perfect sincerity, declared: “It is a real pain to me to write or say anything against a person of his character.” [To Mr. J. Thomson, January 3, 1781.]

It is perhaps to be regretted that in the Communications that passed between the Bishop and those concerned in this unhappy affair, he should have threatened Suspension in so pointed a manner, till he was fully prepared to carry the Sentence into execution, or until it was absolutely necessary to do so. It could serve only to irritate Mr. Geddes and his friends, without producing the salutary effects of the Judicial act. The Bishop, no doubt, hoped to avert the necessity altogether by holding out the Threat; but he has mistaken the character he was dealing with. On a man of Mr. Geddes’ temperament, the solo effect of intimidation was to exacerbate and to harden. The Sentence itself, accompanied, perhaps, by a moving appeal to penitence, would not only have inflicted less irritating pain, but would have had a better chance of correcting the delinquent.

Mr. Geddes soon after went to London, where, through the influence of some of his lay friends,

he obtained a Chaplaincy attached to the Imperial Embassy, which, however, the policy of the Emperor, Joseph II., did not long permit him to enjoy. The University of Aberdeen paid a tribute, at that time unprecedented, to his undoubted genius, by conferring on him the Degree of Doctor of Laws. He subsequently engaged in the arduous self-imposed task of making a new Translation of the Holy Scriptures; and, in order to leave him at perfect leisure for the undertaking, Lord Petre settled £200 a year upon him during his Lordship's life, and bequeathed him an Annuity of half that sum at his death.

When Bishop Geddes was settled in Edinburgh, his unhappy kinsman applied to him for advice; narrating his whole Case calmly and with many expressions of gratitude. But it was too late. The bitterness which had begun to rankle at his heart was now incurable, and the poison, ere long, extended to temper and even to Faith. One element in his character must always be remembered to his credit. Unlike most men in his position who have made shipwreck of Faith, he continued to lead a life of irreproachable morality. There is not wanting evidence to lead to the charitable hope that his Case may be accounted for by a constitutional obliquity of intellect; his deathbed was not unrelieved by at least a glimmering of the hope of pardon. His errors, and they were many and grievous, were the errors of a man of genius, partially educated, and therefore vain of his crudely developed powers. His errors of vanity were exaggerated and hardened into form, by the nature of the opposition which they provoked, from persons who looked only to their pernicious tendency, but without any sympathy with the literary genius which lay concealed under them, and which only wanted a little kindness and better direction to have become an honour to the British Catholic Body, and a valuable portion of its scanty literature.

Dr. Geddes has not been fortunate in his Biographer; an office performed for him by Mason Good, an English Surgeon, who sympathised with his Friend only partially, and with what may be termed his negative or un-Catholic side. The Incidents and the Dates in his Narrative are involved in inextricable confusion. It is adorned with a wild and eccentric-looking Portrait of the Wit, corresponding to the follow-

ing description of him:—"In 1793, I first became acquainted with Dr. Geddes. He was about five feet five inches high, in a black dress, put on with uncommon negligence, and apparently never fitted to his form. His figure was lank, his face meagre, his hair black, long and loose, without having been sufficiently submitted to the operations of the toilet; and his eyes, though quick and vivid, sparkling at that time rather with irritability than benevolence. He was disputing with one of the company when I entered. . . When the dispute was over, in a few minutes he again approached us, retook possession of his chair, and was all playfulness, good humour, and genuine wit." [Life, by Mason Good—300 p. *et seq.*]

His *Prospectus* (1786) for a new Version of the Scriptures attracted a good deal of attention in the Protestant Literary and Theological world, by its Learning and the high promise which it exhibited. The Translation itself, which he proposed to complete in eight quarto Volumes, never reached a fourth Volume. The first was published in 1792, and the third in 1800. It was a signal failure. The Notes were an open profession of German Scepticism, which effectually chilled the enthusiasm of his Protestant friends; and the English Catholic Bishops at once prohibited the use of the Work to their people, and Suspended him from his Clerical Functions. He keenly resented their interference, and a scandalous altercation ensued. In 1800, he published a small Volume, Entitled—"A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain." It had been, in great part, prepared for the Press at the time of the first Relaxation of the Penal Laws in England, but had been then withheld. Neither in style nor in tone was it deserving of any prominent notice: it assumed too much to find favour among Protestants, and certainly fell far short of the mark which honest Catholics must have desired. It remains as a curious and a painful example of the vanity and the perversity of its unhappy Author.

Death put a period to the wayward career of Dr. Geddes, February 26, 1802, in his house in the New Road, Mary-le-bone, in the 65th year of his age. A French Priest visited him, when he was dying, and extracted from him a sort of apology for his errors; but on returning, was refused admittance by the servant. A poor woman,

a Catholic, residing in the neighbourhood, hearing that he was fast dying, went to his room; he awoke for a moment from his lethargy, gave her his blessing, and so expired.

He was Buried, at his own request, in the Churchyard at Paddington. The Funeral was numerously and honourably attended. "Few men," says Mr. Charles Butler, "could boast of warmer, or of more respectable friends; for no one ever called in question his learning, or the benevolence of his dispositions." \*

Dr. Geddes ought never to have meddled with Theology. His legitimate sphere was ready wit, a considerable acquaintance with the Latin Classics, and a singular facility in impromptu Versification. A just estimate of his claims to distinction, may be found in Chambers' "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen;" in which the following candid summary of his merits and demerits occurs. "His Translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much easier it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings than to perform. . . . On the whole, Dr. Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius; but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind."

Mr. Charles Butler's estimate of his character, taken from another and a Catholic point of view, is especially valuable, as the testimony of a Contemporary who knew Dr. Geddes intimately. "Those who knew him, while they blamed and lamented his aberrations, did justice to his learning, to his friendly heart, and his guileless simplicity. Most unjustly has he been termed an Infidel. He professed himself a Trinitarian, a believer in the Resurrection, and in the Divine Origin and Divine Mission of Christ, in support of which, he published a small Tract. He also professed to believe what he termed the leading and unadulterated Tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. From her—however scanty his Creed might be—he did not so far recede as was gener-

ally thought. The estrangement of his Brethren from him, was most painful to his feelings. I have, more than once, witnessed his lamenting the circumstance, with great agitation, and even with bitter tears." \*

A good example of Dr. Geddes' powers as an *Improviseur*, has been preserved by the late Bishop Cameron, who was present. The circumstances were these:—One 5th of November, the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, at Chester, had caused the death of fifty persons assembled to witness the fireworks in honour of the day. The news reached Aberdeen, and was discussed in the Chamber of Mr. William Reid, then labouring under the combined pressure of old age and asthma, but cheerful, and fond of seeing his many friends. Dr. Geddes walked in upon a party of them in the old Priest's Room, in a great hurry, and, without sitting down, was walking off again, when Mr. Reid called him back to tell him the news, and challenged him to produce some verses on the spot. Still holding the handle of the door, first where he stood, he hit off the following Lines:—Bishop Cameron picked them up, committed them to his wonderful memory, and repeated them to Bishop Kyle, from whose dictation the Author took them down,

Oft have our pious folks before,  
In every place of note,  
Commemorated o'er and o'er  
The Popish Powder Plot

Guns have been fired, and Bells been rung,  
And Pontiffs have been roasted,  
And to the W— of Babylon  
Death and D— toasted.  
But, Chester, willing to excel,  
With pious emulation,  
Has shown more charity and zeal  
Than all the British Nation.  
To expiate the sins of Rome,  
Its charitable Saints  
Have offered half a hecatomb  
Of guiltless Protestants.

Dr. Geddes composed a humorous description of a Meeting of the Bishops and Administrators at Sealan, during his residence in the Enzie. It is entitled, "The Book of Zaknime;" and closely imitates the Hebrew style of composition, so

\* *Memirs of English Catholics*, IV., 419.

\* *Memirs of English Catholics*, IV., 418.

familiar in the Old Testament Scriptures. The Portrait of Bishop Hay is lifelike as well as amusing:—

“ Now there happened to be there [at Scalan], at the same time, one of the Prophets, George, the son of James, of the Tribe of Hay; a man with a long face and a pale countenance.

“ For he was a great Faster, and drank neither wine nor strong drink; but his food was the milk of the heifer, and his drink the water of the fountain.

“ And his zeal for the House of the Lord, and his love for the children of his people had raised him to the office of Priesthood; and he was joined to the High Priests, James and John.

“ And the Lord had endowed him with understanding; and he knew the virtues of every herb and tree, from the cedar that groweth on Mount Lebanon, to the hyssop that creepeth on the wall.”—Etc., etc.

Mr. William Guthrie's Portrait is as follows:—

“ William, the son of John, of the Tribe of Guthrie.

“ A man cunning in all sorts of needle-work, and in making Ephods and Girdles for the Priests of the Lord; and all other things that are for the service of the Temple.

“ And he could work all manner of work of the Carpenter, and of the Engraver, and of the Gilder, and of those that devise cunning work.

“ And he knew the History of all the generations of the Tribes of Israel, and he was skilled in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Law of Moses; and they made him Recorder.

“ And he, too, was a Preacher, and he Preached terrorification; and his words were like the voice of thunder in the ears of the people.

“ Howbeit he had but one leg.”—Etc., etc.

A Stone was Erected by Lord Petre to the Memory of Dr. Geddes, and an Epitaph inscribed on it, composed by the Wit himself, as follows:

“ REVEREND ALEXANDER CEDDES, LL.D.,  
TRANSLATOR OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS  
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT,  
DIED FEB. 26, 1802.  
AGED 65.

“ Christian is my name, and Catholic my surname.  
I grant that you are a Christian as well as I,  
And embrace you as my Fellow-Disciple in Jesus;  
And, if you are not a Disciple of Jesus,  
Still I would embrace you as my Fellow-Man.

“ REQUIESCAT IN PAECE.”

A singular confusion, for which Allan Cunningham is responsible, occurs in the Note appended to this Letter of Burns to Bishop Geddes, in Chambers' “ Life and Works of Burns,” III., 21. The Title of the Letter is, “ To Bishop Geddes;” and the explanatory foot-note contains a brief account of Dr. Alexander Geddes, as if he and the Bishop were one and the same person. In the absence of positive certainty that the Letter was indeed addressed to the Bishop, and not to Dr. Geddes, the following considerations lead to the same conclusion, with a degree of probability hardly inferior to certainty.

(1.) There is no evidence to show that Dr. Geddes ever met, or ever had any acquaintance with Burns. Mason Good, the Biographer of Dr. Geddes, says nothing of such an acquaintance. It is extremely improbable that they ever met, on the following account. Dr. Geddes, a native of Banffshire, was educated in his own County, till he went to finish his Studies at Paris, in 1758. On his return to Scotland, in 1764, he was stationed as Private Chaplain at Traquair, in Peeblesshire, which he left in 1768, to return for a year to Paris. In 1769, he took up his Residence at the little Hamlet of Auchenhalrig, in Banffshire, close to Gordon Castle. In 1779, he passed through Edinburgh, on his way to London, where he staid only a few weeks, and again returned to Banffshire. In 1781, he went to reside permanently in London; and only once more visited Scotland, namely, in September, 1785, when we find him passing through Edinburgh, on his way to Glasgow, on a literary errand, connected with his proposed Translation of the Scriptures. In the following February, 1786, he once more, and finally, left Scotland, and returned to London.

Up to that date, Burns was not known out of Ayrshire, his native County; a part of the Country which there is no reason to suppose that Dr. Geddes ever visited.

(2.) On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Bishop Geddes was well acquainted with Burns. We have the fact attested in the Bishop's own handwriting, March 26, 1787, that he had met the Poet at supper, at Lord Monboddo's, and had conversed a good deal with him. In Chambers' “ Life and Works of Burns,” II. 21, mention is made of Mr. Geddes conversing with Burns, in December, 1786, on a subject connected with Lord Monboddo's Family. This Mr. Geddes

must have been the Bishop; for nearly a year had elapsed since Dr. Geddes had finally returned to London; and we know that it was at Lord Monboddo's that the Bishop and the Poet first became acquainted with each other, either in December, 1786, or early in the following year.

(3.) The Letter itself furnishes internal evidence of its being addressed to the Bishop, and not to Dr. Geddes. By comparing it with other Letters of the Poet, addressed to persons who had acquired a name as Authors or Poets (such as Mr. Skinner and others), it is impossible to doubt that if this Letter had been indeed addressed to Dr. Geddes, it would have made some allusion to the Poet's correspondent as a brother-author and poet; for Dr. Geddes had become celebrated in Scotland as a Poet and a Wit long before 1789, and had received the unusual honour of an LL.D. Degree from the University of Aberdeen, seven or eight years before. But no such allusion occurs in the whole of the Letter; which perfectly well agrees with its being addressed to Bishop Geddes. For up to that time, and for some years later, he had published nothing.

(4.) Again, the commencement of the Letter, "Venerable Father," is an unlikely epithet to have been addressed to a Priest, but highly appropriate to a Bishop. And, as we have often, in the course of this Memoir, observed that the usual style of commencing a Letter to a Catholic Bishop, in the last Century, was "Much honoured Sir," we find, in the fourth Paragraph of the Poet's Letter, the phrase—"My Reverend and much-honoured Friend." And, whereas, the absence of any Literary allusions in his Letter, confirms the probability that it was not addressed to Dr. Geddes; and its moral tone perfectly coincides with the fact that it was destined for the Bishop—a man, whose habitual goodness and benevolence of heart it would not require much conversation for the Poet to discover.

(5.) The last Paragraph but one in the Letter, is conclusive evidence on the point, even without any other probabilities. "You will see," says the Poet, "in your Book"—which I beg pardon for detaining so long—that I have been tuning my Lyre on the Banks of the Nith. Some large Poetic plans that are floating in my imagination,

or partly put in execution, I shall impart to you when I have the pleasure of meeting with you, which, if you are in Edinburgh, I shall leave about the beginning of March." It is evident that the Poet's Correspondent was a man whom he thought it probable, but not quite certain, that he should meet in Edinburgh in the following month: it is, therefore, evident that he was a man who, although generally resident at Edinburgh, was occasionally absent from it on short excursions; and hence the possibility, implied in Burns' language, of their not meeting at the time anticipated. Both of these characteristics exclusively belonged to Bishop Geddes. Edinburgh was his usual place of residence; but a sick call or a short Missionary Tour to Glasgow or elsewhere, might easily withdraw him from the City for a few days; and those might be the days of the Poet's projected visit to it. But, as for Dr. Geddes, he had been for several years before, and was at that time, engaged in London in pursuits which had no connection whatever with Edinburgh.

## CHAPTER XII.

1781—1782.

Scotch College in Rome—B. Hay goes to Rome, to obtain Reforms in the College—*Statuta Missionis*—Pecuniary Aid from Rome—Endless Negotiations at Rome—B. Hay Ordains Scotch Students there—Decision of Propaganda in B. Hay's affairs—Pope sets out for Vienna—B. Hay leaves Rome—Resides at Aberdeen.

Long before the Foundation of the Scotch College in Rome, a National Hospitium existed there for the accommodation of Scotchmen who had occasion to visit Rome, either for Devotion or the transaction of Ecclesiastical Affairs. In 1471, this Hospitium is found under the Management of an Italian Confraternity, probably owing to the extreme scarcity of Scotchmen at that time in Rome. The only Memorial of this National Establishment now existing, is the Church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte (Thorns), which was the Title of the Church then attached to the Hospitium.

After the Reformation in Scotland, Bishop William Chisholm, on his Expulsion from the See of Dunblane, went to Rome; and, finding many of his Catholic Countrymen living in Exile,

\* A Copy of Burns' Poems, belonging to the Bishop, in which the Poet had inserted some of his later Compositions.

on account of Religion, and in great destitution, he made application for the Property of the National Hospitium, as a means of relieving their necessities. But the Institution seems to have been so long abandoned by the Nation, that the Bishop experienced the greatest difficulty in recovering even a small portion of the Property for the purposes he had in view. Early in the 17th Century, the wreck of its Property was finally Incorporated in the Scotch College, then recently Established; one condition attached to its Incorporation being an obligation imposed on the College of expending, in charity, one Crown in the month, on poor Scotchmen.

The Foundation of the Scotch College, in Rome, is due to the munificence of Pope Clement VIII. Gregory XIII., indeed, had it in contemplation some years before, as part of his extensive plan for Establishing as many National Colleges as possible in the immediate vicinity of the Holy See. This great Pope saw the importance of a thorough Education for the Clergy, and of an Education in Rome itself; hence many of the National Colleges there, date their Foundation in his Pontificate, or owe it to the development of Gregory's views by succeeding Popes. While he was contemplating the Establishment of a Scotch Seminary in Rome, he allowed himself to be persuaded by the promoters of the rising College for Scotch Ecclesiastics at Pont-a-Monsson, that his benefactions would be better applied there; and the idea of a National Seminary in Rome was, in consequence, abandoned.

Meanwhile, the scarcity of Priests in Scotland became a subject of deep anxiety to those who took an interest in the preservation of the Catholic Religion in that Country. The people who still adhered to it had many difficulties to struggle with. Unless Spiritual assistance were provided for them, there was every prospect that Scotland would soon cease to possess any Catholics at all. Bishop Chisholm, of Dunblane, and the incomparable John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, united with others in entreating Pope Clement VIII. to provide, in some way, for the Spiritual necessities of their Countrymen; pointing out, at the same time, the great advantages that would result from the Establishment of a Seminary for Scotch Secular Priests in Rome. To its honour, the application of the Bishops was cordially supported by the Society of Jesus, which, at that

time, had many eminent Fathers of the Scottish Nation, most of them men of ancient and distinguished Family.

His Holiness was not, at the moment, in a situation to afford the means requisite for such an undertaking, but he promised the Bishops to keep their Petition in view. He redeemed his pledge in the year 1600. On the Nones (5th) of December, in that year, he issued a Bull of Foundation, from which the Scotch Roman College dates its existence. In this Bull his Holiness paid the Scottish Nation the high compliment of designating it as one of great distinction, and as among the first to embrace Christianity. His near relation, Cardinal Borghese, was appointed Protector of the infant Seminary, which was invested in all the Privileges and Immunities usually granted to Pontifical Colleges. The Endowment assigned to it was at first small; consisting only of a House in Rome, opposite the Church of La Madonna di Constantinopoli; a small Vineyard at the Gate of St. Sebastian and the Abbacy of St. Helias di Melicania, in Calabria. Next year the Pope added to the Property of the College another House, near the Fontana di Trevi; and, in 1603, the Abbacy of St. Menna, in the Neapolitan Town of Sta. Agata dei Goti.

Two years after its Foundation, 1602, the College was opened for eleven Students. Its first Superior, or Governor, as he was called, was Mgr. Paulini, who held an office in the Papal Household, to whom the duty was entrusted of appointing persons to superintend the Students. They at first lived in the House assigned them in the original Bull of Foundation, in the Via del Tritone; but as early as 1604, a claimant for it appearing, and commencing a Law-suit for its recovery, the Pope gave the Scotch Students another House in the Via delle quattro Fontane; which has continued to be their residence ever since. They gained much by the exchange. Their original House was small, and too much confined for the purposes of a College; and their new House, though not at first much larger, had abundance of space around it, for making every necessary addition. Crowded as its neighbourhood is now with houses, it is difficult to believe that at that time there were but few buildings on that side of the Quirinal Hill. It was not till the Popes began to reside in their Palace on Monte Cavallo, that houses

began to multiply in its immediate vicinity. The House into which the Scotch College now removed stood in the Vineyard of the Grimani Family; more than 200 English square yards of which were purchased with the House, and became the Property of the College, at a cost of 5600 Crowns (£1344, Sterling).

The Holy See becoming vacant, March 3, 1605, the Scotch College had to mourn the loss of its Founder and Patron. His successor, Leo XI., was Elected, and Died in the following month of April. Another Election, in May, placed Cardinal Borghese, the Protector of the Scotch College, on the Pontifical Throne, with the Title of Paul V. The new Pope appointed Cardinal Barberini to the vacant Protectorship of the Scotch College; from which he was, in due time, promoted to the Papal Throne, as Urban VIII. The College continued to thrive under his Patronage: the Students attended the Jesuit Schools in the Roman College of St. Ignatius, and, from time to time, took part in its public exercises with much applause.

At first, there was no obligation imposed on the Students to take Holy Orders and return to serve the Mission in Scotland. Of the first eleven who occupied the College, four left it as they came; two died in it; and the remainder entered the Society of Jesus and other Religious Orders. Their worthy Superior, Mgr. Paulini, never omitted an opportunity of reminding them that the principal object of their Institution was the supply of Secular Missionaries in their native Country. Among other great benefactions which he obtained for the College, through his influence with the Pope, was a sum of seventy-two Crowns, to defray the expenses of every Student returning to Scotland as a Priest. The Death of their good Prelate, a few years afterwards, was a serious loss to the young College. His place was not filled up: the Government of the College, after this, being vested in the Rector, who was understood to act in concert with the Cardinal Protector. The new arrangement, however, did not at first work well. Discontent and a relaxation of Discipline crept into the College. At last the Students, of their own accord, presented a Petition to his Holiness, praying that they might thenceforth be put under the charge of Jesuit Superiors. The Protector, Cardinal Barberini, at first strongly opposed their application; but in vain; and, in

1615, the Government of the Scotch College was entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

The first Jesuit Rector was F. Patrick Anderson,\* a nephew of the great John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. After a distinguished career as a Student in the Roman College, followed by a short period of anxiety, of fatigue, and of peril, on the Mission in his native Country, he was called back to Rome, in 1611, to fill the Chair of Philosophy in the Roman College, and was promoted from it to the Rectorship of the Scotch Seminary. His services in his new office were of signal benefit to the College. Hitherto it had been without any fixed Rule or Method, either of Discipline or of Study, depending, in great measure, for both on the momentary inclination of its Superior for the time. The new Rector immediately set himself to supply this deficiency: he drew up a Code of Rules, in seven Chapters, in which the spirit of St. Ignatius is very conspicuous. The most important points in these Regulations included an obligation which the Rector might impose on the Students, if he pleased, six months after their entrance into the College, of taking an Oath to return to serve the Scottish Mission in Holy Orders. A Course of three years in Philosophy, and four in Divinity, was prescribed for them, subject to any modification which the Rector might think desirable. The obligations binding on the Students, among others, involved half-an-hour's daily morning Prayer and Meditation, and their presence at Mass; a quarter of an hour's vocal Prayers and Examination of Conscience, in the evening, before bed-time; and the duty of Confession, once a month, and before the principal Festivals. A Spiritual Retreat was prescribed once a year. Many minute Rules were framed for the regulation of the Students' behaviour, within and without the Walls of the College; touching the Books they might read, the Letters they wrote and received, their separation from the company of the servants, &c. These Rules are a Memorial of F. Anderson's singular fitness for his new office. Their substance continued, with very few alterations, to regulate the Students' life as long as their College existed; and, since its restriction, these Rules form the foundation of its Government still.

\* See an interesting Notice of his Life in Oliver's Collections, etc., p. 16.

Unhappily for the Scotch College, it was deprived of F. Anderson's eminent services within a year. His heart was in Scotland, whither he returned to serve the Mission for four years longer. Betrayed to the Government in 1620, he passed the two following years in prison, in Edinburgh, almost daily expecting death. "Quis mili tribuat," he wrote from his prison, "ut pro dulcissimo Domino Jesu moriar? O, felix hora, qua comparatur eterna illa felicitas!"—[Oliver, *ut Supra.*] He was liberated, however, at the end of two years, through the influence of the French Ambassador; and died in peace, in London, in 1624, aged 49.

After the removal of F. Anderson, there seems to have been no Scottish Jesuit at hand capable of succeeding him in the Rectorship. It was, therefore, entrusted to the Italian Jesuit Rector of the neighbouring Maronite College, for the time being, who delegated part of his Authority to a Prefect of Studies residing in the House. Things continued on this footing till 1622, when F. Elphinstone, a Scotchman, was appointed to the Rectorship of the Scotch College. He found its Revenues much impaired by neglect; the Rents of the distant Abbacies in Naples were irregularly and only partially paid; and the Protector was too much occupied with his own affairs to remedy these abuses. F. Elphinstone, finding an impoverished Establishment, introduced the system of Boarders (Convictores) into the House, by way of recruiting its Finances; a system which has usually been found detrimental to good Discipline, and which was at last abolished by express order of the Pope, in 1675.

The year before the appointment of the new Scotch Rector, Cardinal Barberini had succeeded Paul V., under the name of Urban VIII. His nephew, Cardinal Francis Barberini, was appointed to the vacant Protectorship of the Scotch College; but, like his uncle, he took but little interest in its prosperity. The new Pontificate was marked by the introduction of an important Clause into the Oath of the Scotch Students. As it had originally stood, there was no prohibition against any of them entering a Religious Order. Owing to the severe privations and dangers which then awaited a native Missionary, on his return to Scotland, and the total want of provision for him in his probable exile, in sickness and declining health, the Religious Orders held out induc-

ments to young Novices, which many of them were found unable to resist. When a young Priest shrank from the terrible ordeal of the Mission, or wished to make some provision, in case of being driven from his native Country, nothing was more easy than to procure a Dispensation from that part of his Oath which obliged him to return to the Mission, on condition of entering some Order in Religion; and thus many valuable services were lost to Scotland. The first Protest against this practice came from the English and Greek Colleges in Rome; and was considered of sufficient importance to induce Pope Urban to introduce a Clause into the Oath taken in all the Pontifical Colleges, binding the Student to serve for three years, at least, in his native Country, before entering any Religious Order.

The unusually long Rectorship of F. Elphinstone, extending over a period of twenty-two years, at length terminated in 1644; when F. William Christie entered upon its duties; a man distinguished, even among his Brethren, for zeal and activity. He had spent some of the best years of his life in the Scottish Mission, residing chiefly at Huntly Castle, the Seat of the noble Family of that name. The disturbed state of Scotland, in the Reign of Charles I., had driven him to Rome, where he had been employed as Prefect of Studies in the Scotch College. From that Office he was promoted to the Rectorship. Soon afterwards, the new Cardinal Protector, Palotta, and Mgr. Ingoli, Secretary to Propaganda, made a formal visitation of the College.

The principal object to which the new Rector turned his great energy, was the Erection of a Church in connection with the College. Circumstances favoured his project. His old Friend, the Marchioness of Huntly, had also been driven from Scotland by the Persecution raised by the Covenanters, and was at that time residing in France. She was as generous as she was wealthy. No sooner did F. Christie communicate his wishes to her, than she presented him with a large sum of money, promising to add to it from time to time, as she was able to afford it; a promise which she faithfully redeemed. The Rector immediately laid the Foundation of the elegant little Church, which now stands in the Via delle quattro Fontane, next door to the Scotch College.

It was not completed, however, till some years afterwards.

When F. Christie was removed from the Rectorship, in 1616, he did not leave the College, but resumed his old Office of Prefect of Studies, under the new Rector, F. Francis Dempster, who had formerly been a Student in the Scotch College. After entering the Society, he had laboured for some time in the Mission, and had suffered the common penalty of Imprisonment for Religion. During his Rectorship, F. Christie prosecuted the Erection and Completion of the College Church. Besides the contributions of Lady Huntly, he obtained much assistance from F. William Thomson, a native of Dundee, and one of the first eleven Students who had entered the Scotch College. At the end of his Studies, he had joined the Order of Conventual Franciscans, and had served the Mission at Home, and been imprisoned and banished, like many of his Secular Brethren. He was afterwards appointed a Chaplain to Queen Henrietta of England, and on her return to France, he had retired into his Convent in Rome. Finding F. Christie engaged in building the Church, and otherwise improving the College of his native Country there, F. Thomson made him liberal presents of money towards the expense of the Church; of a new Refectory and Kitchen; and of an addition which was then made to the South, or upper end of the College itself. He ended his days in the Convent of the Santi Apostoli.

F. Dempster was succeeded in the Rectorship by F. Andrew Leslie, in 1649.—[See Oliver's "Collections," p. 26.] This good Father had laboured for sixteen years in the Scotch Mission, chiefly in the Highlands. In 1647 he had been apprehended, and detained in Prison at Aberdeen and Edinburgh for more than a year. On his liberation, through the influence of the French Ambassador, on condition of leaving Scotland for ever, he had retired to Douay, with broken health. He was thence promoted to the Scotch Rectorship in Rome. He is generally supposed to have been the Author of a little Book entitled "Il Cappuccino Scozzese."

In 1652, F. Adam Gordon, also an old Student in the House, succeeded him. It is to him that the College owes the possession of its charming Country-house at Marino. He perceived the importance of change of air and scenes for the

Students during their vocations; he also wished to procure a Vineyard, which would supply the College with wine for its own consumption, at least at a cheaper rate than the wine they required, cost in the Market. It so happened, that at this time a Vineyard near Marino had been bequeathed as a legacy to the *Casu Proprio* of the Jesuits in Rome. As they had already as many Vineyards as they wanted, a bargain was soon made with the Scotch College, which became possessor of this Vineyard on payment of 1,400 Crowns. The salubrity of its air, and the excellent quality of its vine, exactly suiting F. Gordon's wishes and views in purchasing it. He lost no time in enlarging the small house, which then stood in it, and in digging a grotto for his wine. He was succeeded in the Rectorship, in 1655, by F. George Bisset, or Talbot, of the Family of Lessendrum. At the expiry of his term of Office, which was not a prosperous one for the College, F. Francis Dempster resumed the Rectorship in 1658. On his former resignation of it, he had returned to the Mission, had been confined for a long time in prison, at Edinburgh, and finally banished the Kingdom. On the expiry of his second Rectorship, he returned once more to Scotland, in 1653; F. Bisset again assuming the Office of Rector.

In 1649, Mr. William Leslie, a Scotch Secular Priest, was sent to Rome, to reside there as Agent and Representative of the Secular Clergy in his native Country. He had begun his Studies at Douay, at the age of fifteen, under the Superintendence of his uncle, F. William Leslie, S. J., Rector of the Scotch College there. In 1641, he was transferred to the Scotch Roman College, where he received Holy Orders in 1647. While in Paris, in 1649, on his way to the Mission, Mr. Ballantyne, his former Companion and Friend in Rome, persuaded him to render service to Religion, by undertaking the office of Agent for the Mission in Rome, as an important auxiliary to Mr. Ballantyne's plans for a new organisation of the Scottish Mission. Mr. Leslie, much against his own inclination, acceded to the request of Mr. Ballantyne and other friends, and returned to Rome in the suite of Cardinal Barberini. He immediately entered on his duties as Agent; gave Propaganda authentic and copious information on the State of Religion in Scotland, its depressed condition, and the remedies most

desired by those best acquainted with all the circumstances; the first and most important of these remedies being the appointment of a Bishop.

The state of the Scotch College naturally engaged much of the Agent's attention, for upon it, the supply of Missionary Priests for his native Country, principally depended. He found much cause for complaint, in relation to its management, and, more particularly, in the practice of inviting the most promising youths among the Students to join the Order to which their Superiors belonged. Advantage was taken, for this purpose, of a certain discretionary power, hitherto vested in the Rector, of postponing, almost indefinitely, the time for imposing the Mission Oath on any Student. Thus, the main object of the Oath was defeated—namely, securing the services of the Students for the Secular Mission in their own Country; for it was never imposed on the Students of highest promise. Mr. Leslie at first encountered a keen opposition in his urgent demands for a reformation in this practice; but, his influence in Rome being much increased by his appointment to the Custody of the Archives in Propaganda, he at last obtained a favourable hearing, and effected his purpose. The principal means he employed, were making the Clause in the Oath against entering Religious Orders, not for three years only, but perpetual. Students, on their arrival, were to be presented by the Rector, in person, to the Cardinal Prefect, or, at least, to the Secretary of Propaganda; and every Student, on leaving Rome for the Mission, was bound to write over a year to Propaganda. The last Obligation was, for some reason, formally remitted in 1618, and was never again imposed. The new Regulations, introduced into the College by Mr. Leslie, were sanctioned by the Authority of Propaganda, supported by the confirmation of his Holiness, and their influence on the interests of the Mission was most beneficial.

It cost Mr. Leslie no small trouble to get F. Bisset, the new Rector, to comply with these Regulations. The Rector at first set the Agent at defiance; but a Letter from the Cardinal of Propaganda, enforcing immediate compliance with them in every particular, procured his reluctant obedience. Through the influence of the Agent, also, the payment of travelling expenses for Secular Students returning to the Mission, was enforced on the Superiors of the Scotch

College, who had for some time refused any share in the Endowment destined for that special purpose, to any but the Members of their own Order.

It must be added, with regret, that the Rector, finding himself foiled at all hands by the Address of the Agent and the justice of his claims, abandoned all care of the Students, both in their Studies and their Moral Training. Mr. Leslie, finding his own remonstrances unavailing, and unwilling to be always dragging the unhappy Rector before the Congregation of Propaganda, incited the Students themselves to complain to F. Oliva, the General of the Jesuits, who immediately issued stringent orders that the abuses complained of should be rectified.

In 1670, F. John Strachan succeeded to the Rectorship, which he held only for a year. F. Marini, an Italian, followed him; but his administration was so bad, that it was difficult to prevail on any Student to remain with him.

On his removal, in 1673, F. William Aloysius Leslie entered on the Office of Rector. He was a member of the Family of Balquhain, and was himself distinguished for his many virtues and accomplishments. We owe to his pen a short Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, written in Italian, and published at Rome, in 12mo, 1675.—[Oliver's Collections, p. 28.] One of the first acts of his Rectorship was to Petition his Holiness, in conjunction with his Cousin, the Scotch Agent, and in name of all the Scotch Catholic Clergy and Laity, to extend to the whole Church the Festival of St. Margaret, which had been hitherto confined to the limits of her old Kingdom. The Congregation of Rites reported favourably on their Petition; and, by a Decree of his Holiness, the Festival of the Saint was inserted in the Roman Breviary, under the Semi-Double Rite, being kept as a Double of the Second Class only in Scotland. It was, probably, with a view to making the Italians and other Catholic Nations acquainted with the History and the virtues of St. Margaret, that F. Leslie undertook to write her Life.

Unfortunately, the harmony so auspiciously inaugurated between the Rector and the Scotch Agent, was not of long duration. The subject of their Dispute was the much-agitated question of the Mission Oath, imposed on the Students, by successive Decrees of Propaganda. The in-

genuity of the Rector had discovered an opportunity, as he thought, for dispensing with the Obligation of returning to the Mission as Secular Priest, contained in the Oath, during the approaching Jubilee, on the Accession of the new Pope, Innocent XI., in 1676. Fortunately, the Students took the precaution of consulting the Agent on the subject, who succeeded in defeating the intentions of F. Leslie, by showing the Students that a Dispensation from their Oath would be directly injurious to the rights of a third party, namely, of the Scottish Mission, on whose Funds they were educated, and that, on this ground, any attempt to procure it at the Jubilee would be invalid. The authority of Propaganda was also employed to support the Agent's arguments, and the Rector had the mortification of seeing his plans completely exposed and thwarted. The removal of Mr. Leslie from Rome was now considered necessary for the future success of the Rector's designs with regard to the Scotch Students. A strong representation was, therefore, made to the Cardinal Protector of Scotland, that Mr. Leslie ought to set an example of fidelity to this Oath of the Mission, by returning to his native Country and taking his share in the duties of the Mission. The Protector, who was won over to the same view, desired Mr. Leslie to prepare for his journey. But the injury which the Scotch Mission was likely to suffer from the removal of so energetic a representative from Rome appeared so imminent to many of its friends, and among others to the Cardinal of Propaganda, that the order for the Agent's going was revoked, and he was permitted to spend the rest of his useful life in Rome.

The successful opposition of Mr. Leslie to all the machinations of the Rector, unhappily widened the breach between them. F. Leslie, jealous of the influence which the Agent justly possessed over the Students, endeavoured to undermine that influence by circulating false reports against the orthodoxy of the Agent; which, however, was so completely above suspicion, as to make it apparent to the Students that the Rector's accusations were the result of private and personal pique. This still further tended to strengthen the Agent's influence among them, which he invariably used for the benefit of the Mission at home.

About this time the Prefect of the Mission sent

Mr. Leslie an urgent complaint of the little service which the Scotch College in Rome had for a long time rendered to Scotland; and earnestly entreated the Agent to set about investigating the causes of this deficiency, as a first step towards repairing it. Mr. Leslie immediately laid the matter before Propaganda, setting forth the abuses that had long prevailed in the administration of the College, both in the application of its rents to other purposes, and in the admission and training of Students for the Priesthood. He besought the Congregation to appoint a Visitation of the College, as the only means of laying bare and of rectifying all these abuses. Unhappily, deference to the jurisdiction of the Cardinal Protector interposed with the wishes of the Agent and of Propaganda for an investigation at that time; but good resulted from this application in an indirect way. The Rector hearing of it, thought it prudent to forestall a judicial inquiry, and from that time reformed many of the most glaring abuses in his Administration.

In the year 1676, the *Congregation of the Blessed Virgin* was introduced into the Scotch College; an Association in honour of our Lady, generally flourishing in Seminaries and Colleges, directed by the Society of Jesus. The conditions of gaining its Privileges and Indulgences, were the Recitation of part of her Office, and the Reception of Holy Communion, on her principal Festivals.

On the death of Cardinal Francis Barberini in 1679, Cardinal Howard succeeded him in the Protectorship. The Agent was at first in hopes of much good resulting to the College from this change. He accordingly waited on his Eminence, and laid before him a full statement of all that required his correcting hand in the National Seminary. It was to no purpose. The new Protector, besides his natural disinclination to anything that would bring him into collision with an opponent, was a Dominican, and therefore peculiarly disinclined to enact the part of Censor or Judge, in matters affecting a member of the Society of Jesus. Added to these disqualifications, he was Protector of the English and Irish Colleges also; and he saw clearly that if he began to reform the Scotch Seminary, he must extend his irksome labours to the others; a task from which he altogether shrank. He therefore would undertake no more than a formal Visitation of the

College, in which he examined nothing, took everything for granted that the Rector told him, and ended by enacting some trifling rules suggested by F. Leslie.

The College was much benefited by the departure of the Rector to the Mission in 1683; the vacancy being supplied by F. Andrew Mackie, formerly a Student in the College, and more lately, a Labourer on the Mission. The seven years of his Rectorship were productive of peace and harmony, to which the College had been for a long time a stranger. He had hardly finished the first year of his third *tricennium*, when he was removed by death, in 1690, much lamented.

F. William Leslie then returned to the College, but only for a short time; when he left, F. Musanti, an Italian, assumed the Rectorship. The Holy See had lately been displeased with the policy of Louis XIV. The late Pope, Innocent XI., had been much irritated against the French Sovereign; and had been induced, by one of those curious combinations of no unfrequent occurrence in diplomacy, to oppose the continuance of James II. on the Throne of England, and even to supply the Prince of Orange with pecuniary assistance in carrying on his enterprise. So much so, that some of the Wits of the day used to say that the only method they could see for securing the peace of Europe would be for the Pope to turn Catholic, and the French Sovereign Protestant.—[Macpherson's MS. "History of Scotch College," Rome, p. 114.]

F. Musanti, in common with the Romans generally, had shared largely in this feeling of resentment against Louis, and against the Stuart Family, as his allies. And even now, when animosity had ceased, and another Pontiff reigned in Rome, much of the old bitterness lingered in private. Musanti had the excessive imprudence to enforce his political views on his Students, who were all naturally prepossessed in favour of the exiled Family of James II. He even went so far as to say, before them, that this unhappy Monarch had not yet suffered punishment enough for his alliance with France. Altercations ensued; for the Students felt quite as keenly as their Rector on the subject. One evening, the quarrel reached such a height, that the Rector lost all command of himself, and called in the *Sbirri*, or armed police, threatening to send his Students, in their custody, to the public prison.

Next morning, all the Students waited on Musanti; and, after offering him their apologies for the intemperance of language into which they had been betrayed, they informed him of their unanimous determination to leave the College that very day, in consequence of the outrage he had committed on them. The firmness and calmness with which they announced their resolution had a powerful effect on the Rector. He at once saw his error, and all the sad consequences which threatened to follow it, and his line of conduct was taken at once. He threw himself on his knees before them, and, in a tone of voice broken with compunction, humbly acknowledged his fault, entreated their forgiveness; and, not content with this, he sent for the Agent, and, in his presence, repeated his protestations of sorrow for what had occurred, assuring Mr. Leslie and the Students that nothing of the kind should ever be repeated—that they should find him an altered man. He was ever afterwards as good as his word; his subsequent mildness and prudence amply atoned for this, his first indiscretion, and secured for him the strong attachment of all his Students. He devoted himself thenceforth to the zealous promotion of Learning and Piety among them. His own acquirements in both were very considerable. His interest with Cardinal Charles Barberini was employed for the benefit of the College, with substantial results. The Cardinal was the commendator of the Greek Abbey at Grotta Ferrata, near the Scotch Country House. A Vineyard in the neighbourhood, which had come into his Eminence's Possession, was bestowed on the Scotch College, through the influence of Musanti. At his own earnest desire, he remained in the Rectorship till his death; and obtained permission from his Superiors to bequeath many valuable Books to the College Library. His name deserves to be perpetuated among the very best Superiors that the Scotch College in Rome ever had.

With his Successor's (F. William Leslie,) return to the Rectorship in 1693, all the Agent's harassing anxieties once more revived. He was kept constantly on the watch to discover and then to frustrate the designs of his intriguing relative against the interests of the College and of the Secular Mission. At this very time, Cardinal Pignatelli was elevated to the Papal Throne, with the title of Innocent XII. Mr. Leslie had

known his Holiness intimately for some years, and had often transacted business with him, on the Appointment of a Bishop for Scotland, which was then in contemplation. He, therefore, with the greater freedom, laid before the Pope a full Statement of all the grievances which he had to complain of, in the Administration of the Scotch College, and renewed his Prayer for a thorough Visitation of the College. His Holiness was already aware of many similar causes of complaint existing in the English, Greek, and other Pontifical Colleges, under the Management of the Society; he, therefore, granted Mr. Leslie's Petition at once, and extended the Visitation to all the Colleges in Rome. The duty was confided to a Congregation of Cardinals, especially created for the purpose, consisting of Cardinals Cassinate, Caraccioli, Albani (afterwards Clement XI.), Barbarigo, and Howard, the Protector of the British Colleges. The Congregation divided the Visitation of the Colleges among them. The Scotch fell to the share of Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of Montefiascom, a Prelate of consummate prudence, zeal, learning, and experience, and had been for many years intimately acquainted with the Scotch Agent.

Mr. Leslie hastened to wait on the Cardinal, and express his unfeigned pleasure at the prospect of a reformation in the Scotch College, on which the interests of the Mission at Rome so much depended. The Cardinal received him with great cordiality, assured him of his own dispositions to see justice done both by the College and the Mission, and desired the Agent to draw up a Statement of what principally called for Reform in the College, together with a list of Interrogatories, to be put to the Students and their Superiors, a task which the Agent at once entered upon, in conjunction with his Assistant, Mr. Walter Innes.

The Rector, meanwhile, hearing of what was in progress, and perceiving that the approaching Visitation of his College was intended to be a serious and a thorough one, lost no time in correcting some abuses which, till then, had passed unnoticed. He then waited on Cardinal Barbarigo, with a full Report of the temporal and spiritual condition of the College. The Agent's Report, also, was soon ready, and the Cardinal then proceeded to hold the Visitation, assisted by his Secretary, Mgr. Farsetti. He first examined

the state of the Church and the Sacristy; the Rooms of the Superiors and Students; he then retired to an apartment in the College, where, in presence of the Rector and the Agent, he made minute inquiry into all the points which Mr. Leslie had touched upon in his Report. The Account-books of the College were ordered to be sent to his Palace, where they were subjected to a searching examination by Clerks appointed for the purpose. After the Superiors of the House, the Students were called before the Cardinal, and invited to state any cause of complaint which existed against the Administration of the College. His Eminence afterwards declared himself much pleased with the moderation and good sense of their replies. They confined their complaints to the want of Books of Study and of Devotion in the College, and to the sparing assistance given them by their Superiors in those two important branches of their education. The Agent had included, in his Report of grievances, the unsatisfactory state of the Students' food. When the Cardinal examined them on this head, they all declined to make any complaint on the subject, adding, with a magnanimity which produced a great impression on the mind of his Eminence, that they considered it too unimportant a matter to be made a ground of complaint; that they had no desire for gratification in eating and drinking, but rather to inure themselves to the greater hardships and privations which certainly awaited them for life, on their return as Missionaries to their own poor Country.

The Servants of the College were then examined; and, lastly, the Clerks whom the Cardinal had employed to examine the Account-books. They reported that the confusion and irregularity in the keeping of those books were so great, it was with the utmost difficulty they had been able to form an opinion with regard to the pecuniary affairs of the College; but they could declare that there ought to be a large balance of money in its favour. This closed the Visitation.

The Cardinal then drew up a Report of the State of the College, to be presented to the Congregation. He also prepared a Code of new and stringent Regulations for its better government, in which Mr. Leslie's Report of grievances was very closely followed, and all his suggestions adopted. These Regulations were not made public till they had obtained the Confirmation of

the Congregation; but F. Leslie got some intelligence of them, and, without a moment's delay, set every engine to work to prevent them from passing into Law. The whole Religious Body to which he belonged, aided him in his endeavours; and it became a trial of strength between the Scotch Agent and the Society of Jesus, which should obtain the votes of the Congregation for or against the enactment of Cardinal Barbarigo's Regulations. The Cardinal himself was called away to his Diocese on urgent business about this time, but Mr. Leslie kept him informed of the progress of events. F. Leslie obtained leave to have a Copy of the new Regulations, to which he sent back an elaborate argument against their enactment. The Cardinal replied to it in another long Paper, which was also laid before the Congregation.

At this critical juncture of affairs, the stake at issue was virtually the possession of the Scotch College. The Agent, supported by the authority of the Cardinal, left nothing undone to secure the votes of the Congregation. His designs were opposed in a quarter where he might have counted on co-operation. The Cardinal of Norfolk, a weak and vacillating Prelate, shrank from a collision with any one; and though his office of Protector ought naturally to have secured his interest on behalf of the Scotch College, he weakly allowed the Agent to fight the battle alone. Mr. Leslie's exertions were soon rewarded with complete success. The Congregation met in September, 1694; heard the Papers on both sides read, and, without a dissentient voice, Confirmed the Decrees of Cardinal Barbarigo, with the usual formalities; and ordered that a Copy of them should be hung up in a conspicuous place in the College, that Superiors and Students alike, might constantly have an opportunity of seeing them.

Another mortification was in reserve for F. Leslie. The Agent, well knowing the futility of making laws, unless there is an eye ever on the watch to see that they are obeyed; and unable to depend on the timidity of Cardinal Howard, asked and obtained from the Pope the appointment of Mgr. Spernelli, Bishop of Terni, a Vicegerent of Rome, as Perpetual Visitor of the College, with especial charge to see that the Decrees were exactly observed. This excellent Prelate accepted the office on one condition that, as other business occupied much of his time, he should have the

benefit of Mr. Leslie's assistance as his Deputy. Both appointments were made by the authority of his Holiness. F. Leslie's loud remonstrances were disregarded; and finding further opposition useless, he forbore, for the rest of his Rectorship, to prolong hostilities with the Agent.

To the firmness and ability with which Mr. Leslie conducted this affair of the Visitation, the Scotch Mission, at this day, owes the possession of its College in Rome. The Decrees, which were only the echo of his report, secured a thorough reform in the discipline and studies of the House; in the admission and treatment of the Students; and in the provision made for their journey to Scotland. They secured a frequent Visitation of the College, by the Protector; an Examination of its Accounts, at short intervals, as a check on the great abuses which had resulted from the uncontrolled administration of its Funds. The Decrees also insisted on eight Students being maintained in the College, instead of four, the number then, and for a long time previously supported on funds large enough for a greater number. The Students were also to be taken in equal proportions from the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland.

In 1695, F. Leslie again returned to the Scotch Mission, as Superior of his Brethren there. His place in the Scotch College was supplied by F. James Forbes. The following year Cardinal Howard died; and the office of Scotch Protector remained vacant for ten years. The appointment to it was practically confided by the Pope to the Court at St. Germain; and through its influence, Mgr. Caprara, a Roman Prelate, was nominated to act as pro-Protector of all the British Colleges. Mgr. Spernelli was also about this time promoted to the Cardinalate, and thus his office of Visitor in the Scotch College expired, and with it Mr. Leslie's, as his Deputy. The Agent's health was now much impaired by the infirmities of age; and the pro-Protector was neither able nor willing to render him much assistance in his vigilant attention to the interests of the Scotch College. The consequence of all this was, that the Decrees of Cardinal Barbarigo's Visitation were practically set aside by F. Forbes. The Agent with his usual unfailing energy, exhausted every means at his disposal to maintain the authority of those Decrees in the College; by appeals to Propaganda, to his Holiness, and through Lord Perth, to the

ex-King at St. Germains. But F. Forbes' friends were more powerful, and the interests of the College and of the Scotch Secular Mission were ultimately sacrificed.

In 1701, an important change was introduced into the unhappy College, by the removal of Scotch Superiors, and the substitution of Italian Jesuits in their place. F. Calcagni, the Successor of F. Forbes, was as unfit for the post of Rector as he could possibly be; the three years of his office were a time of excessive misery for his Students. At one sweep, he abolished all the existing Rules of the College, declared that his will must henceforth be its only rule, and punished any complaint with an increase of severity. The Agent and Mgr. Caprara did what they could, to support and encourage the Students under this tyranny; and at last persuaded the General to remove Calcagni.

His Successor, F. Naselli (1704), was a man of similar temper. Mr. Hatchet, afterwards a laborious and pious Missionary for more than forty years, was a Student in the College under Naselli, and his predecessors; and has left us a short description of this Rector, in a Letter to Mr. Lewis Innes, in Paris:—"In lieu of an old tyrant the General has sent us a young one, who, besides continuing the barbarities of his predecessor, was so base as to inflict his penances with blows; and this not on children, but on men past five-and-twenty years of age." The natural consequence of his mis-government was that only three Students were left in the College; and, to keep up even this number, the Rector admitted any vagabond from Scotland that presented himself. Hence many failures in vocations followed; and, what was of infinitely more deplorable consequence, several open apostacies, on the return of unworthy Missionaries to Scotland.

Dr. James Gordon at this time arrived in Rome, to succeed Mr. Irvine as deputy and future successor to the Agent, Mr. Irvine having been recalled to the Mission. With characteristic energy, he set to work to get National Superiors restored to the College. The General of the Jesuits opposed the plan; depending much on the influence of his Order at St. Germains. At last, finding the tide setting against him, he changed his ground, and proposed that the three British Colleges should be united in one, under one Superior. Trusting to the mutual jealousy of the

three Nations, which would never agree in obeying a British Superior, the General countenanced this plan as a certain method of securing the appointment of Italian Superiors, as a mutual compromise among the three Nations. Doctor Gordon, in the name of the Secular Clergy, immediately and vigorously opposed the scheme, as one likely to complete the ruin of the Scotch College, as well as to inflict serious injury on the other British Seminaries. The Ex-Queen Dowager at St. Germains, though much pressed by the Jesuits about her to consent to it, had sense enough to see its injurious tendency, and refused her consent to it. It was, therefore, finally dropped.

In 1705, Dr. Gordon was nominated Coadjutor to Bishop Nicolson. Before leaving Rome, early in the following year, he presented a strong Petition to the General Congregation of the Jesuits, assembled for the Election of a new Father-General, for the restoration of Scotch Superiors to the National College. He represented the incapacity of any others than their own Countrymen to train and prepare Scotch youths for the Mission, if for no other reason than their ignorance of the Language of Scotland, and of the manners and character of the Nation. The Scotch Jesuits presented a similar Petition to the General Congregation, through F. Forbes, who supported it with arguments more particularly addressed to the interests of the Scotch Jesuit Mission, and through it, of the whole Order. Their Petition was seconded by an Appeal from the Ex-Queen Dowager to the new General, Tamburini; notwithstanding every effort had been made to secure her countenance by the Italian Priests. When they reminded her of her Italian Birth, she answered—"I am a child of Italy, but I am the mother of Great Britain: which of the two, do you think, is the stronger tie?"

In September, 1706, Mgr. Caprara, the Protector of Scotland, was promoted to the Cardinalate, and after much negotiation between Rome and St. Germains on the subject, Cardinal Saeripanti, Prefect of Propaganda, and Pro-Datario in the Roman Court, was appointed the new Protector of Scotland, at the earnest request of Mr. Leslie, in name of the whole Scotch Mission. When the Agent waited on his Eminence to congratulate him, which he did with streaming

eyes, the Cardinal received him with extraordinary marks of affection, throwing his arms round the Agent's neck, and exclaiming, "My Dear Friend, why can't I make you twenty years younger; you would then see what a happy College we shall make in Rome, and what a flourishing Mission in Scotland." The Cardinal was as good as his word, and lost no opportunity afforded him by his Office in the Detaria of his Holiness, to procure grants of money for the Scotch College; which he benefited in this way to the amount of ten thousand crowns, thus enabling the College to maintain ten Students.

The Scheme for the Union of the three National Colleges having been defeated, a project, which had for some time engaged the attention of the Agent, was set on foot for the Amalgamation of the Scotch College with Propaganda. The Bishops and Clergy in Scotland formally petitioned Propaganda in favour of it, as in their opinion the only means left to save the National College. It was, of course, strongly opposed by the Jesuits; and, indeed, there was nearly as much to be said against it as in its favour; its Advocates proposed it only as a lesser evil than the total loss of the Scotch College, as an auxiliary to the struggling Secular Clergy. The project was now carried into effect, but one result of its proposal was that the General of the Jesuits, F. Tamburini, at last gave way to the repeated entreaties of the Secular Clergy, and in 1707, appointed F. Fyffe, a Scotchman, Rector of the College, with F. Forbes as his Prefect of Studies.

Before the end of the same year, good Mr. Leslie exchanged his long life of toil, in the service of the Mission, for the reward that awaited his faithful discharge of duty. He Died at Rome, at the advanced age of 86, having served the Mission as Procurator for more than half a century. His Successor, Mr. William Stuart, erected a Monument to his memory in the Church of the Scotch College.

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On the North Side of the West Door, on a fair white Marble Tablet, engraved in a variegated Marble Frame, is, in Capitals, this Inscription:—

D. O. M.  
GULIELMO LESLEO, SACERDOTI, NOBILI SCOTO,  
HUIUS COLLEGII OLIM ALUMNO,  
VIRO  
IN DEUM PIETATE, IN HOMINES CHARITATE,  
MULTIPLICI DOCTRINA AC VIRTUTUM SPLENDORE,  
CONSPICUO  
SUMMIS PONTIFICIBUS  
ET PRÆCIPUE CLEMENTI XI.,  
EMIS CARDINALIBUS  
CAROLO ET FRANCISCO BARBERINO,  
AC  
JOSEPHO  
SACRIPANTI, SCOTIÆ PROTECTORI,  
APPRIME CHARO,  
QUOD  
DILATANDÆ UBIQUE, PRÆSERTIM IN SCOTIA,  
CATHOLICÆ FIDEI  
STUDIOSISSIMUS,  
SCOTICE MISSIONIS PER ANNOS LV. IN URBE  
PROCURATOR,  
RELIGIONI, PATRIÆ, MUNERI  
CUMULATE SATISFECERIT.  
OBIT XXIII. APRIL, MDCCVIII., ET. LXXXVI.  
GUILIELMUS STUART, PRESBYTER,  
PRÆDECESSORI CHARISSIMO  
PROP. SUMPT. P.  
AN. MDCCXIV.

The new Protector, ascertaining from sources open to him as Prefect of Propaganda, as well as from the representations of the Agent, that abuses still deformed the administration of the Scotch College, determined to make a thorough Visitation of it. M. Leslie before his death, and Mr. Stuart, had fully informed him of all particulars referring to the original Endowment of the College, the purposes which the Holy See had in view in Founding it, and the practical neglect of those intentions of which its administrators had all along been guilty. He now opened the Visitation with much solemnity, March 18th, 1708. Superiors and Students were rigidly examined as to the observance of the original rules of Cardinal Barbarigo's Decrees. Sacripanti re-enacted those Decrees, with the addition of others of his own, equally stringent; ordaining frequent examination of the Accounts; into which he himself carefully looked once every year during his Protectorship. He also directed that Students should be admitted younger in age than had hitherto been the practice; an innovation on the original rules which the late Agent had long recommended. Under the paternal care of their excellent Protector, the Students enjoyed peace and happiness; piety and studies prospered in the College; and

the suffering Mission at Homo, had long good reason to remember with gratitude the Protectorate of Cardinal Sacripanti.

In 1712, F. William Clerk succeeded to the Rectorship, which he held till, in 1721, he was appointed to a similar office in the Scotch College at Madrid; where, through the influence of the Queen, he was afterwards nominated Confessor to Philip V.

After his ill-fated attempt to gain possession of the British Throne in 1715, the son of James II. repaired to Rome, in 1717, and was received with hospitality by Clement XI. On the Festival of St. Margaret in that year, the Pope himself said Mass in the Church of the Scotch, in presence of the Exile, with whom his Holiness afterwards had a long interview. In memory of the event, he left the Chalice which he had used at Mass, as a present to the Church; where it remained till the College was pillaged by the French Republicans in 1798.

When F. Clerk went to Spain, in 1721, F. Alexander Ferguson succeeded him in the Rectorship. He had left his native Country when quite a child, and had entirely lost its language and its habits. His Rectorship was not a happy one for the Students. Under a less vigilant Protector it would have been an injurious one to the College, but Sacripanti, informed of everything by Mr. Stuart, baffled all the Rector's attempts to reduce the Students from the Mission, and to alienate the Funds of the House. In him the line of National Rectors expires.

When his triennium was nearly finished, in 1724, Mr. Stuart made a strong remonstrance against his reappointment, and also intimated to the General that the Scotch Clergy did not wish any more National Rectors in their Roman College. His application was successful on both points, and the vacant Rectorship was filled by F. Gritta, a learned and prudent man, a native of Milan. From this time the Rectors of the Scotch College continued to be appointed from among the Italian Fathers, and the Scotch Clergy never again had reason to regret the change. F. Gritta was a man among a thousand. He secured the affectionate esteem of all the Students by his virtues and his devotion to their interests. He endeavoured to inspire them with a high idea of their vocation as Missionaries. "Why was not I born in Scotland," he would often say, "or, at

least, of Scottish parents? Had this been my happiness, I should never have worn this Habit. But Almighty God saw that I was unworthy of so singular a happiness, and I must save my soul in a state of life inferior in merit to yours." His common name for the Students was his "young Apostles." When any of them happened to be ill, he watched beside them day and night, giving them their medicines with his own hand. He used to say it was the greatest honour of his life to perform the meanest offices for his "young Apostles." The most acceptable favour the Agent could do him, was to permit him to have a Copy of the beautiful Annual Letters sent to Rome by the Scottish Bishops. The good Rector used to learn them by heart, and repeat them to the Students. It is interesting to remember that Mr. John Godsman, the saintly Missionary in the Enzie, was trained by this excellent Rector.

Whenever any of his "young Apostles" were to be Ordained, F. Gritta was always present: during the whole Function, he was observed to keep his eyes fixed upon them, and tears of joy would often be running down his face. That day he served them at table, on his knees, and washed their feet. He did the same for them the day of their departure to the Mission. It seems that the first of his Students, for whom he performed this office of humility, was Mr. James Tyrie, in 1725; who, a few years after, apostatised, and died in 1779, Minister of a Parish in the West Highlands. He called anxiously for a Priest on his deathbed, but his wife and children would not permit one to approach him. While F. Gritta was washing his feet, after many pious and affectionate congratulations, the good Rector added, in another strain:—"But, even among the twelve there was a traitor; God forbid that ever any from this House should imitate a monster so abhorred."

The 4th of the year (1729), the year of Doctor Hay's birth, witnessed the pious end of Cardinal Sacripanti, in every sense a Protector and Benefactor of the Scottish Mission. The Son of James II. was at Bologna when this event took place, and in his absence, and without consulting him, the Pope, Benedict XIII., appointed Cardinal Falcoineri to the Protectorship of Scotland. The would-be King resented this act of his Holiness, as derogatory to his dignity; and wrote to forbid Mr. Stuart, the Agent for the Scotch Clergy, to

acknowledge the new Protector; desiring him to transact necessary business with Cardinal Gualtieri, who had been formerly Nuncio at Paris. Mr. Stuart remonstrated in a tone of deference at which we can now only smile; and the Royal Exile was persuaded to waive his prerogative, on receiving the assurance that serious injury to the Mission would be the only result of his foolish punctilio.

To the great regret of all concerned with him, F. Gritta was removed from the Rectorship, at the expiry of his second tri-ennium, in 1730. He was succeeded by F. Martini; and he by F. Morici, who died in the College in 1738. F. Urbani then assumed the Government; a man of careless habits and profuse expenditure; but, for all that, a favourite with the Students. The Abbacies in Naples fell into arrears; the Vineyards at Marino were allowed to lie waste after their devastation by the passage of German Troops engaged in the contest going on between Spain and Germany on the subject of Naples. The Rector left the College in 1747, with an additional debt of 2000 Crowns, incurred during his Administration, besides a serious diminution in the number of Students supported by the College.

His Successor, F. Alticozzi, did much to repair the mischief occasioned by Urbani. We have already met with him on Dr. Hay's arrival in Rome, in 1751. His Rectorship is one of the few periods in the history of the Scotch College to which one can look back with satisfaction.

The death of the Cardinal Protector, in 1754, was another incident highly beneficial to the College. His Successor, Cardinal Spinelli, co-operated with Alticozzi in every measure that could increase its efficiency. Their influence with the son of James II. was productive of liberal grants of money, which enabled it to support as many as twelve Students.

The Protectorship of Spinelli terminated with his life in 1763; and with it, all the substantial advantages of a Protector as regarded the prosperity of the College; in which Cardinal John Francis Albani, who succeeded him, took little or no interest. In 1766, the good Rector, Alticozzi, was removed, in consequence of a Political indiscretion, as we have already seen.

His Successor, F. Corsedoni, the last Jesuit Superior of the Scotch College, though much inferior to Alticozzi in abilities and activity, seems

to have managed it to the best of his powers. He permitted its property, however, to be plundered by dishonest servants, in whom he placed too implicit confidence; and the indolent Protector left everything connected with the College to his management. His term of office, too, is unfavourably distinguished by the final loss of the Neapolitan Abbacies, long the property of the College. When the Jesuits were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples, in 1767, all their property was of course seized by Government, and applied to other purposes. As the Scotch College was under the direction of the Jesuits, the Neapolitan Government pretended to consider these Abbacies as Jesuit property, and would listen to no remonstrances or explanations. The only answer it deigned to return was, "Let the Jesuits leave the Scotch College, and the property of the House shall be restored." Clement XIII.'s attachment to the Order, and the supine indifference of Albani, made the alternative of compliance with the wishes of the Neapolitan Government impossible; and thus, much valuable property was for ever lost to the Scotch College. Dr. Hay's opinion on this subject is preserved in a Letter written to Abate Grant, Rome, January 14, 1768.

"January 14, 1768.

" . . . We are much concerned to understand that Shop's [Saberna] Neapolitan Funds are likely to be lost, if Birlics continue to have the management of affairs. It seems very hard that a National House, which is certainly the main support of Trade here, should suffer such a loss for the sake of maintaining four Jesuits. One should imagine that Padrons, and even Mr. Cant himself, would make no hesitation to remove them, in such a case. However, as we are not thoroughly acquainted with all circumstances, I shall not insist upon this subject, but only inform you that the eyes of all here are fixed on you, and hope you will exert your wonted vigour and zeal to secure the interest of Compy. in such critical circumstances. . . . "

After the suppression of the Jesuits, several weak attempts were made to recover possession of those Abbacies, but in vain.

As the Society of Jesus declined in public favour in Rome, and other places, the Colleges under its Administration, together with its own Houses, were subjected to many vexatious and unjust law-suits, in which, among others, the Scotch College suffered severely. Yet, with all

these disadvantages, the last Jesuit Rector contrived to maintain seven Students.

The final Suppression of the Society, and the particulars of its Expulsion from the Scotch College, have been already Narrated among the events of the year 1773.

On reviewing this History of the Scotch College during a period of 170 years, it is with mixed feelings of pain and of satisfaction that an impartial observer must trace its vicissitudes. There is much satisfaction associated with it in the knowledge that, after the loss of the College at Madrid and Douay to the Secular Mission, and during a long mismanagement of the Scotch College in Paris, it was to its Roman College that the afflicted Mission in Scotland principally looked for a supply of Labourers in the sacred Ministry. Nor did it look in vain. A succession of pious and devoted Missionaries continued to arrive in Scotland, during the darkest period of its Religious depression, animated with the Faith and instructed in the Discipline learnt at Rome.

On the other hand, this satisfaction is mingled with much pain, when one reflects on the constant attitude of mistrust and hostility which the representation of the Secular Clergy were all along forced to maintain towards the Religious Body entrusted with the Administration of their College; and on the serious injuries inflicted during a long course of years on the interests of the College and of the Secular Mission, through mistaken notions of what was best for Religion in Scotland. The Jesuit Rectors were perfectly entitled to their own opinion, that the greatest amount of usefulness to be obtained from a number of Scotch youths was best secured by training them in their own Institute, and then sending them to their native land to Preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments. But the Jesuit Rectors were not entitled to apply funds destined for the purpose, to the fulfilment of another, different from that which the Founders and Benefactors of the Scotch College had originally in view. They were not entitled to apply funds bestowed for the education of Secular Missionaries, to the education of their own subjects; neither were they entitled to draw away young men who had been sent to Rome and were maintained there, at the expense of the Secular Mission, for the specific purpose of qualifying themselves

to be of service to that Mission in future years, as Secular Priests. The interests of a third party, namely, of the Scottish Mission, were too deeply involved in the career of every one of the Scotch Students, ever to make it just without the consent, and still less against the consent of the third party, to divert one of those Students from his original contract entered into with the Mission.

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At the meeting of the Bishops in June, 1781, it was resolved that Bishop Hay should go to Rome, on business of the highest importance to the Mission. While sending his late Report of the state of Religion in his District, he had informed Propaganda that there were some matters on which he felt it difficult to write, and had requested permission to repair in person to Rome, to consult on those particulars. [C. Antonelli to B. Hay, May 12.] Leave was readily granted; and the Bishop was also assured that, in compliance with his wish, his journey should be kept a secret from all concerned with Scotland, both in Paris and in Rome. The news leaked out, however, at Brussels; and, early in June, the Nuncios invited the honour of a visit from the Bishop, as he passed that way. July 26th, the Bishop executed a Power of Attorney, in favour of Bishop Geddes, authorising all his Intromissions with Monies lying in Bishop Hay's house; and on Sunday afternoon, August 5, he left Edinburgh, accompanied for some miles, by Mr. J. Thomson; Bishop Geddes having by this time reached Sealan on his first Visitation of his District. For reasons which Bishop Hay must have considered sufficient, he travelled under the feigned name of Signor Tommase Scotti.

We learn incidentally, that at this time the Bishop laid aside his wig, and wore his natural grey hair.—[Mr. James Cameron to Dr. A. Geddes, August 20.]

To understand fully the object in view in this journey, it is necessary to revert to the condition in which the Scotch College, Rome, was left by the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, and in which it had remained during the eight years which had since elapsed.

The Congregation of five Cardinals who conducted the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, appointed Cardinal Marcolini, one of their own number, to the temporary Protectorship of the

Scotch College. He immediately selected for the Rectorship a Secular Priest, of the name of Don Vincenzo Massa, a very worthy man, and well qualified for the duties of the office. Unfortunately, however, in consequence of a private pique which the Cardinal of York had against him, the College was soon deprived of his services. His great merits were immediately after recognised by his nomination to the Rectorship of the large Seminary at Montefiascone, which he retained as long as he lived.

His Successor in the Scotch College was Lorenzo Antonini. At first, matters in the College seem to have gone on smoothly enough. Mr. Gordon, the Prefect, gave entire satisfaction to the Scotch Agent. Spiritual matters were attended to by a Friar of St. Isidore's; and Studies were prosecuted at the College of Propaganda. The Students, however, were much opposed to this last arrangement, not liking the method of teaching in the Schools of Propaganda so well as that of their old Masters in the Roman College.

Before long, Antonini proved himself totally unfit for the office confided to him. Disputes and petty jealousies which existed between him and Rodini, the Procurator of the College, tended much to the disorganisation of discipline, by dividing the Students into two parties, each of which espoused the quarrel of one of the rival Superiors. Marcfoschi, perceiving the injurious consequences of Antonini's incapacity, and finding it hopeless to procure a better person among the only class of the Roman Clergy, who would accept of such an office, wrote to the Scotch Bishops, earnestly requesting them to choose a native of Scotland, and send him out as the head of the National College in Rome. Meanwhile, the Cardinal proposed that the Agent should undertake the Management of the College, till the arrival of the new Rector from Scotland. Abate Grant, however, could not be prevailed upon to charge himself with this duty; his habits of life, and his fondness for the society of British visitors in Rome, indisposing him for the restraints of College discipline.

Marcfoschi's proposal reached Scotland at an unfortunate time, when several Missionaries had fallen into infirm health, having large tracts of country ill provided with Spiritual assistance. Dr. Hay very fully discusses the possibility of sending a National Rector to Rome. [To Mr. J.

Geddes, Nov. 26, 1773.] Mr. Alex. Cameron would have been the person selected for this office, if the Cardinals had insisted on it; but the Bishop describes with his customary minuteness the sufferings of the Missionaries, and the extreme scarcity of active Labourers. "Do you really think, in these circumstances, it would be advisable to send away so good a hand as Mr. Cameron, merely to ease or please Mr. Grant? Already our Brethren are too much oppressed, the people by no means served as they would need, many in different places dying, especially in the winter-time, without Assistance, in spite of all that can be done. Can we, then, in conscience, send away one of our best hands, by which all these evils must be greatly increased? Can we, even for the prospect of farther advantage, expose those souls to him, of which we have at present the charge? If higher powers absolutely command it, Mr. Cameron must go; because then all the consequences must lie on their consciences; but I own, if left to me, I would have great difficulties, even though Mr. Grant should thereby rather hinder than promote our temporal supply; the greatest degree of which is not to be put in competition with one poor soul. Ah, my dear Sir, how true is that which I observed in a former letter, 'Our friends abroad only hear what we daily see and feel.' May Alm. God direct us."

Before the answer of the Scotch Bishops could be returned to Rome, Marcfoschi, for private reasons, had resigned the Protectorship; and the same day, Cardinal Caraffa di Trajetto was nominated in his place. The circumstances of the Mission at Home, and the sudden urgency of the demand for a Scotch Rector, unfortunately induced the Bishops to decline the proposal made to them by Marcfoschi, and even strongly to remonstrate against it. They seemed unable to understand the necessity for it, partly, no doubt, in consequence of their being only partially informed of the state of matters in the Scotch College. The College had for a long time been governed by Italian Superiors, and without serious inconvenience to the Mission; it did not appear to the Bishops impossible that such an arrangement should still continue. They were soon, however, undeceived; and the next twenty-five years were spent in the fruitless endeavour to remedy the mistake committed in declining the proposal of Marcfoschi.

Cardinal Caraffa adopted the same views as his predecessor, and would not consider the Scotch Bishops' answer as final, but urged them as soon as circumstances permitted them, to send one of their Missionaries to administer the affairs of the Scotch College. Feeling confident, also, that the Bishops had the interests of both Mission and College as much at heart as himself, he did not again mention the subject to them. His silence contributed not a little to conceal from them the urgent necessity that existed for the measure thus again pressed upon them.

The Scotch Students had been much attached to their late Superiors of the Society of Jesus; and were in consequence slow in admitting the new Secular Superiors into their confidence. Hence much discontent arose, still further to complicate the affairs of the College. The Schools of Propaganda, which the Students continue to frequent were unfavourably contrasted with the superior tuition of the Roman College, and murmurs and complaints were the result.

March 2, 1774, Dr. Hay wrote from Aberdeen, at considerable length, to Abate Grant, on the subject of the Scotch College, and the discontent prevailing among the Students.

March 2, 1774.

Besides what you mention about the discontent of our young folks in your Shop, I have just now a Letter from my namesake, Willie Hay, to his father, which his father gave me since I came here. I am sorry he wrote to his father on such a subject, which he should have done only to Mr. Grant or me, if at all, and not to Seculars, which exposes to them what ought by no means to be done. He complains of having Italian Masters, and not those of their own country; of a change in their manner of Studies; and of a change in some of their rules and customs. The first complaint greatly surprised me, for have we not had Italian Superiors there for these many years, and get many worthy Missionaries from it? The other two changes are natural consequences of a far greater change than has happened of late, of which we feel more effects here, than what my namesake complains of; but must we for that repine and pet ourselves, and give way to passion and discontent? God forbid; and yet the whole strain of his Letter shows this is the case with him; and, if what he says be true, with the rest of his companions.

Wherefore, I beg, my dear Sir, you'll give our blessing and best wishes to all our young friends in the Shop; tell them how great an affliction it is to us to see them behaving with so much passionateness and imprudence, which can serve no

good end, but only to make them lose that good character of submission, respect, and obedience to Superiors, which that House has now for many years so justly possessed. Beg of them to consider what trials these are, of which they complain and vex themselves, when compared to the *pondus austerus et dici*, which are to be borne in the service of Jesus Christ, when we come to labour in His Vineyard. The changes they complain of, are they not brought on by the order of the Divine Providence? Is it not God's Holy Will, then, they should cheerfully submit to them? If by proper remonstrances to higher powers they can preserve their former customs, good and well; but if this will not do, is not that a sure proof of what their Great God demands from them? and should they take any rash step, contrary to order, can they expect either the blessing of God, or the approbation of friends here, for such conduct? Their method of studying is changed; but what then? Is it from their method of studying, or the blessing of Heaven, that they are to become good Missionaries? and can they expect that blessing by a spirit of murmuring, discontent, and rebellion? Have not many good Missionaries been made by the method of studying in the Propaganda? and why may not they also, if they do their best endeavours, with humility, docility, and meekness? In a word, we can see nothing in this whole affair but a mere delusion of the Enemy, who has made a handle of these trials to trouble the minds of these poor lads, and fill them with chagrin and discontent; and of course, hinder all progress both in virtue and learning, as well as the great merit they might gain by a perfect submission to the dispositions of God's Providence. We therefore conjure them, for God's sake, and as they tender our favour and approbation, to compose their minds in patience and meekness, to apply diligently to their present studies, and make the best of them they can, being well assured, that God will reward their obedience; and to exhibit themselves in all things an example of submission, obedience, and resignation, those darling virtues of Jesus Christ, and the brightest ornaments of Apostolical Missionaries. May Alm. God enable them to do so. . . . .

Antonini's government of the College at last became too bad to be any longer tolerated. Caraffa therefore removed him, and appointed in his place, Alessandro Marzi, late Professor of Rhetoric, in the University of Perugia. This amiable man was as indulgent to the Students as Antonini had been harsh; and the small remains of their old discipline were very soon entirely destroyed. The only fear that seemed to disturb the Cardinal and the good-natured Rector was, lest any of the Students should prematurely leave the College; not adverting to the more imminent danger of retaining some of them, who ought to have been dis-

missed, for the general good. An attempt was made in October, 1774, to establish Schools for the Scotch Students in their own College. An Irish ex-Jesuit, named Barron, a young man of great abilities, diligence, and prudence, was deputed to teach them Rhetoric, which he did with great success. The Schools of Philosophy and Theology were undertaken by the Friars of St. Isidore's, but with very inferior success. [Abate Grant, October 28 and November 3, 1773.] Matters continued on this footing, till 1777, when the Students returned to the Schools at Propaganda, which they never afterwards left, till the fatal year 1798, when the Scottish College was broken up by the French invasion.

At their Annual Meeting at Scalan, the Scottish Bishops wrote a common Letter, dated September 6, 1774, to Cardinal Marcfoschi, thanking him for the care he had taken of the Scotch College in Rome, during the interregnum.

December 5th, 1774, Dr. Hay addressed an Italian Letter to Cardinal Caraffa, thanking his Eminence for his efficient protection of the Scotch College, and requesting its continuance. When enclosing this Letter to the Agent, the Bishop adds a remark, that as he was never in the Low Schools, he had not had an opportunity of perfecting himself in Italian, and therefore fears that there may be inaccuracies in his Letter, which the Agent will be so good as correct.

March 9, 1776, Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor again communicated with the Agent at Rome, regretting the reports which had reached them regarding the "Hilton Shop," and asking for authentic information on the subject. Before their Letter could reach him, the Agent sent Dr. Hay a good account of the "Apprentices," who were applying much to improve themselves in their profession. And again, (April 17th) he assured the Bishop that tuition goes on well in the Scotch College; the only complaints of the Students regarded the Refectory. Mr. Paul Macpherson was at this time *Sotto deceno*. It appears that the Agent had been too easily satisfied, or too much occupied with more congenial engagements among the British visitors in Rome, to be able to give the Bishops a very accurate report of the state of affairs in the College. For from bad to worse, the Students became unmanageable; Marzi lost heart, and resigned the Rectorship; and the Agent had the disagreeable

duty of informing Dr. Hay, (May 28, 1777) that the Superior of the Scotch College had not turned out well, and had been superseded. The new Rector, he added, was giving satisfaction to every one. The Students had by this time returned to the Schools in the College of Propaganda.

The new Rector, Ignazio Ceci, was a better Disciplinarian than Marzi, but his incapacity as Procurator nearly ruined the College. He sold most of the Books in the Library, written in English, Greek, and other languages which he did not understand, and therefore considered useless; together with many valuable Portraits of eminent men connected with the College, and with Scotland; of which the Portrait of Cardinal Beaton, now at Blairs College, was the only one ever recovered.

A characteristic Letter from Bishop Hay to the Scotch Agent, on the subject of two young Students who threatened to fail, incidentally reveals the singular fact, that he himself had been twice on the point of abandoning his vocation.

"July 5, 1779.

" . . . The principal design of this Letter is the subject contained in the two enclosed, concerning John Anderson and Joseph Deason. I am exceedingly concerned to see these two young men failing in their good purposes, and in complying with what they have so solemnly engaged to perform. I beg you will give them the enclosed, which were sent me by their friends, and tell them at the same time, in my name, how much I disapprove and am concerned for their conduct. I earnestly exhort them, for God Almighty's sake, to reflect upon the misery they are preparing for themselves: never yet did we see any one who had their tie, and broke through it, find much prosperity in the world; and many instances have been seen of such who became absolutely miserable. I am sorry, indeed, that there should be differences between the Boys and their Superiors, which, I suppose, is the chief cause of their defection. I wish it were otherwise: but I think the Boys much to blame, that for any inconvenience they may be exposed to by these differences, they should turn their back upon what they owe to Almighty God, their country, and their own souls. Their troubles there must soon end; but, if they plunge themselves into the world, with the tie they have upon them, they will find themselves involved in troubles of a much heavier nature, which will not end so soon. They may, perhaps, flatter themselves with the hopes of a Dispensation; but I have little faith in Dispensations given for such causes. I am afraid, however, that the facility with which they have been granted to some of late, has only proved an

encouragement to others to follow their example. For such reasons, I earnestly wish and beg of you to have no hand in procuring Dispensations for any more; and, if any be referred to me, as was done of late for your cousin, John Gordon, from Valladolid, I declare to you beforehand, and I desire you to inform all the Boys, that I will never grant them. At the same time, please inform Jo. Anderson and Joseph, that I sincerely sympathize with them in their trials, and the more so, because I experienced the like myself when in their state, having been twice upon the point of leaving all; but, as I know that that was only a temptation of the Enemy, so I am persuaded theirs is no other; and, therefore, I earnestly conjure them by the mercy of Almighty God, not to let themselves be overcome by their present trials, but call to mind their holy Vocation, the necessities of their poor country, and of so many souls which stand in need of their assistance; the Sacred Vow they have made to Almighty God, and the debt they owe to the Missions, for having eat the bread of the Church for so many years, taking up the place of others who might have served them well. They have nothing to expect from their poor parents, who are miserable at the thoughts of their forsaking their Vocation; nor from the Mission, with whom they break every tie by doing so. Let them, therefore, behave as becomes good Christians, by patience, submission, and perseverance; and God Almighty will both support them under their present trials, and crown their fidelity with His most chosen blessings; and when they return, as they ought, they may be assured they shall find in me the most affectionate Friend."

On the appointment of Cardinal Caraffa to the Legation of Ferrara, in 1780, the Scotch Protectorship once more reverted to Albani. By way of retrieving the affairs of the College, he appointed as Procurator, a worthless man, a native of Calabria, of the name of Marchioni, who never rested till he had superseded Ceci in the Rectorship also. The consequences of this long tract of bad government were disastrous in the extreme to the education and training of the Students. Many abandoned their Vocation, or were expelled for misbehaviour, and became a public scandal to religion on their return home. Those who remained faithful to their purpose, filled their Letters with bitter complaints of the state of things in the College. The Bishops now, too late, perceived their error in peremptorily refusing to send a National Superior to Rome, when solicited to do so by Marefoschi. They had imagined that at any time when they should be able to spare a Missionary for the office, or when the necessity of the case should seem to them sufficiently

urgent, they had only to propose the arrangement, to secure its adoption at Rome. But after the removal of Marefoschi, and of Caraffa from the Protectorship, they discovered that they had been sadly mistaken. In this state of affairs, it was resolved that Dr. Hay should go in person to Rome, to solicit the co-operation of Albani, the Cardinal Protector, in procuring the appointment of a Scotch Rector.

There were also other affairs, though of secondary importance, which the Bishop proposed to transact in Rome. Bishop Nicolson, the first Scottish Vicar Apostolic, had assembled his Clergy in 1700, and had, with their advice, formed a small Code of excellent *Statuta*, to serve as a rule for the Missionaries in the more common cases which occurred to them in the exercise of their Ministry. Those Statutes were approved by the Congregation of Propaganda in 1704. [Scottish Bishops to Propaganda, July 12, 1781.] They were not printed, but circulated in MS. copies among the Missionaries. In consequence of this, variations and errors had crept into the few copies which had survived the times of danger and of persecution; and it was often difficult to procure even a sight of one of them. This condition of the old Statutes had long been a subject of regret among the Missionaries. An opportunity now presented itself to the Bishops, for remedying the evil. They had with great pains collated the most authentic copies, so nearly as possible to recover them in their original integrity; and to the first Statuta, they added such observations and rules of their own, as experience had shown to be useful, with a view both to the exact discharge of his Duties by every Missionary, and to the maintenance of uniformity among the entire body. It was now part of Bishop Hay's mission to Rome, to solicit Propaganda to examine this Collection of Statutes, to procure for it the sanction of the Holy See, and to print a sufficient number of Copies to serve the wants of the Scottish Missionaries. He also undertook to request the Congregation to prepare and print a small Ritual for their use, which should contain only what was necessary for their daily Ministry, and thus be convenient and portable;—a quality of great importance to the Country Missionaries, who had often to make long journeys on foot, among the mountains, carrying in their bag their Breviary, their Ritual, and the Holy Oils.

The temporal wants of the Mission also formed part of the Bishop's object in going to Rome. Twenty years before, the allowance of a Missionary from the Common Fund, was only £8 in the Country, and £11 in a Town. As the expense of living increased, this Fund had been quite inadequate for their support, and Propaganda, though not making any fixed or periodical grant, had from time to time sent a subsidy for the relief of the Mission. The Catholics of other Countries, too, had generously responded to calls made on their charity. By all these means, and by a rigid economy, the Salaries of the Missionaries at this date, and for ten years previously, were £12 in the Country, and £18 in Towns. This sum, however, was totally insufficient to secure the Missionary against pinching want; even the narrowest economy could hardly enable him to keep himself, and a servant, and sometimes a horse, when his Mission was wide and scattered, on 5s. a week. Bishop Hay reduced his calculations on this point to a form which the Italians could understand. [Letter to Propaganda, Nov. 1781.] £12 a year, he called forty-eight Crowns, or 480 Pauls. Suppose that the Missionary could make his breakfast for two baiocchi, and his supper for two more; and supposing that his dinner would cost four baiocchi, his daily expense for food would thus amount to eight baiocchi, (four-pence) the very narrowest limit within which it would be possible to sustain life, especially a life of so much labour and hardship as a Scottish Missionary's. But to the Priest's personal expenses, must be added the necessary expense of procuring food for his servant; no servant in Scotland would be satisfied with such a maintenance as this; but the calculation assumes that for eight baiocchi more, the Missionary's servant is kept alive. Sixteen baiocchi in the day, amount to 584 pauls in the year; more than 100 pauls in excess of his whole income. What must become of his wants for clothing, firing, servant's wages, and other inevitable demands? In Scotland nothing was asked from the people, by way of what was sometimes called, "Jura stolæ;" with the exception of a few places in the Western Vicariate, where the better sort of people made their Pastor a present of some article of food, at a Christening or a Marriage, the Pastoral Duties were everywhere discharged gratuitously; partly on account of the great poverty of the people, and

partly to refute the calumny of enemies, who asserted that the Catholic Missionary had only self-interest at heart, and made a trade of Religion.

How then did the Missionary contrive to live at all? His resources were generally of four kinds. A certain number of Masses had been founded by Benefactors, from some of which three or four Pounds a year were derived. The Bishops assigned these Foundations, year by year in rotation, to the Missionaries, especially to the most necessitous. Propaganda had frequently supplied the wants of the Mission by a timely grant of Money. In the Country Missions, the Priest usually rented a small field for his cow, and a little kitchen garden, which was a great assistance; and the Bishops were generally compelled to distribute their own allowance from Propaganda among their poorer Brethren.

In addition to the maintenance of the Clergy, a very serious expense was inflicted every year on the Mission, by the Outfit and the Journeys of Students destined for Foreign Colleges. In the four years immediately preceding the Bishop's visit to Rome, this expense had amounted to £87 Sterling. The increase of Missionaries, consequent on the gradual increase of the Catholic population, threatened still further to diminish the scanty Funds belonging to the Mission; and, unless Providence sent some aid, debt would be inevitable, and ultimately a serious diminution even of those scanty Funds. The Bishops concluded their Appeal to Propaganda by declaring their willingness to hold on with good heart, and even to sweep the streets, if necessary, till Providence sent them some assistance. Their main reliance was on the charity of the Holy See and the zeal of Propaganda; and, after receiving so many proofs, in time past, of the affectionate regard of the Congregation for the poor Scottish Mission, they conjured it, in the language of the Sisters of Lazarus—"Ecce quem amas ægrotat."

Lastly, the Bishop was charged with the duty of representing to Propaganda the unsatisfactory state in which the Scotch College in Paris had long remained, as regarded a supply of Missionaries; and of imploring the Congregation to do something towards its restoration to its former usefulness. Such were the important affairs which called the Bishop to Rome.

He reached London, in the Fly, in four days.

After resting a day, he set out at four in the morning, August 11, in order to reach Margate by ten o'clock at night; a distance which is now performed in less than four hours. The following night found him at Ostend, after a passage of fifteen hours. He slept on board the Boat, "which was economical." The afternoon of the next day, he started in the Canal Boat for Bruges, which he reached in six hours. August 11, the Vigil of the Assumption, he rested at Bruges, where he was well lodged; and, after the duties of the following day, he pushed on in the Boat to Ghent, reaching it the same evening. By next evening the Diligence conveyed him to Brussels, still under the name of Signor Scotti. The Nuncio had left Brussels, a week before for Spa: his Auditor, however, was at home; and, as Spa was only a day's journey out of his way, and the Nuncio might be of use to him in furnishing him with Letters, he resolved to visit the fashionable watering-place, by way of Liege. We learn that his Journey to Brussels cost him Ten Guineas, of which eight were spent before reaching Ostend.

The Bishop arrived at Spa early on Monday, August 20, where he was graciously received by the Nuncio, and accommodated with Rooms in his House. The Secretary accompanied him to the Public Hall, the same day, to the Collation given to the company then assembled at Spa, by Prince Henry of Prussia. "Saw the Prince, who is no beauty, and a famous Abate Renald, Author of mischievous Writings on America,"—[Signor Scotti to Mr. Thomson, August 20.] At dinner at the Nuncio's, he met the Dutch Resident and Madame la Princesse de Stolberg, "mother of the Princess who lives in Rome." His coming to Spa had disconcerted his original arrangement for travelling by Mont Cenis: his route now lay through Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne, to Wirtzburg and Ratisbon, and through the Tyrol, involving a delay of a week or ten days in his reaching Rome; but many things concurred to compensate for this. His Letters, principally addressed to Bishop Geddes, and to Mr. Thomson, enable us to trace his progress very closely; and contain an excellent Journal of his Visit to Rome. Indeed, he requested that they might be preserved as the only Record which he possessed of the important incidents of his Visit. Avoiding the route of Douay and Paris, his *incognito* was pre-

served for several weeks, no one being aware of his having left the Country.

Sunday, August 26, he was received with great cordiality at the Scotch Monastery at Wirtzburg, by Father Mackenzie. Next day he dined with the Prince Bishop—"a most worthy Prelate, who acts much in the Episcopal character," and who placed his coach at the disposal of the Scotch Bishop during his stay at Wirtzburg. In about ten days he continued his journey to Ratisbon; his health, as was usual with him while travelling, being sensibly improved. At Ratisbon he was well received by Abbot Arbuthnot, and engaged to keep a Boy at Sealan for the Monastery, the Abbot and Mr. Menzies, O.S.B., paying for him between them. Among the books which the Bishop ordered from Coglan for the use of the Monastery, we find his own Works, "The Sincere Christian Instructed;" and, "On Miracles;" Butler's "Lives of the Saints;" Tytler's "Vindication of Queen Mary;" and "Pastorini's Letters." His departure from Ratisbon was hastened by the unexpected opportunity of securing the company of two Religious for the remainder of his journey. It was accomplished most agreeably, and on Monday, October 15, he once more entered the Eternal City. This second Visit occurred exactly midway in his Ecclesiastical Course. September 10, 1751, he entered Rome for the first time, a youth, to begin his Studies for the Church; he now entered it again, after an interval of thirty years, a grey-haired man, full of labours and of honours. Thirty years hence, 1811, on this very day, October 15, a day which he always especially venerated, he passed out of this world into Eternal Rest.

He found Rome, as usual, in *villaggiatura*. The Scotch Agent was at Marino, with the Students, in their Country-house. Antonelli had prepared him for the Bishop's arrival, a short time before; and the Rector's Rooms in the Scotch College had been put in order for him; Bishop Hay, however, not aware of this, went straight to the Irish Monastery of St. Isidore; whence he sent a line to Marino, to beg Abate Grant not to hurry to Town on his account. A week of *villaggiatura* still remained; and the Agent sent a carriage to convey the Bishop to the Scotch Country-house, where they "were all overjoyed to embrace him, and he was much delighted with the company and the place."

[Abate Grant to Mr. Thomson, November 10.] He found the worthy Agent much failed. The College was reduced to six Students, whom he found well disposed; the Bishop undertook the office of their Director during his stay. The Agent presently conducted Dr. Hay to Frascati, to introduce him to the Bishop, the Cardinal Duke of York, who received him most graciously, kept him to dinner, and promised every assistance in promoting the objects of his Visit to Rome. As soon as Bishop Hay returned to Rome, Antonelli waited upon him, with every profession of regard, and placed a coach at his service, whenever the Bishop had occasion to pay a visit of ceremony.\* Albani, being in infirm health, sent to beg Dr. Hay to come to him. He received the Bishop with unexpected courtesy and kindness, listened to all that he had to say, and seemed to take the affairs of the Scotch Mission much to heart. When the Bishop introduced the subject of the Scotch Rectorship, the Cardinal seemed startled, and declared the proposal impracticable; but, on seeing the Bishop's Memorial, he gave way a little, declared that the plan had always coincided with his private opinion, and directed the Bishop to prepare another Memorial in the common name of all the Scottish Bishops, with an additional paragraph, setting forth Cardinal Protector's approbation of the measure. At his Eminence's special request, Dr. Hay called upon him as often as he had occasion; and so deeply interested his Eminence in Scottish affairs, that he undertook to be the *Ponente*, or Proposer of the measures in contemplation when they should come before the Congregation of Propaganda. Antonelli, the Prefect, though equally polite, was not so easily disposed to countenance the Scotch Rectorship: he acknow-

ledged, however, the strength of the Bishop's reasons, and that they were deserving of a careful consideration. Neither was he sanguine as to any pecuniary assistance; but promised to do what he could for the Scotch Mission. In fact, as far as appearances went, the Bishop's Mission promised well: he was "much liked and honoured in Rome, and was nightly caressed."—[Abate Grant to Mr. Thomson, November 10.]

The worthy Agent, who had an extensive circle of Correspondents, had communicated the earliest notice of Bishop Hay's arrival which he possessed, to Douay and Paris, where it, no doubt, excited some speculation. The Agent's brother, Mr. Robert Grant, Superior at Douay, in his reply, mingles his surprise at the news with surmises that it probably touched the National College in Rome. He adds—"I am sorry to find that of late his [B. Hay's] popularity is rather diminishing, though I am fully convinced of the uprightness of his intentions and unbounded zeal."—[To Ab. Grant, November 13.] The Bishop well knew the Agent's love of communicating news, and, therefore, while confiding to him the affairs of the *Statuta* and of the Aid to the Mission, had sedulously abstained from conveying to him even a hint on the more important subject of the Rectorship.

November 12, the Bishop was presented to his Holiness, Pius VI., "who was very affable and kind;" and referred the Memorial, which the Bishop presented, to the Protector, Albani, with directions to lay it before Propaganda for its opinion. It was arranged that the affairs of the Scotch Mission were not to be brought before the Congregation till the middle of January, to give time to two Canonists to examine the proposed *Statuta*, and to allow a search into all the former Decrees of Propaganda referring to Scotland, so that a complete Code of Regulations might be prepared. At this stage of the Negotiations, the Bishop informed his Coadjutor that "there are no hopes and there are no fears: something we will get done, but, perhaps, not all we wish." [November 17.] "Borgia [Secretary of Propaganda] is excessively kind; but that is his way. I am to be with him next week upon some lesser matters. . . . I am in some hopes of getting the Abbeys in Naples recovered; but am told that a Letter from Spain, recommending that affair, will be necessary." The Bishop also desired

\* Leonard, Cardinal Antonelli, was a distinguished member of the Sacred College. Born in 1730, and promoted to the Purple in 1775, and soon afterwards to the Prefecture of Propaganda, he enjoyed great influence. He rose to be Cardinal Dean in 1797, and stood high in the confidence of Pope Pius VII., whom he accompanied to Paris in 1804. When the French became master of Rome in 1808, he was conducted, first to Spoleto, and afterwards to his native town of Sinigaglia, where he died in 1811, leaving behind him a memory distinguished for piety and great ability.—John Francis, Cardinal Albani, nephew of Clement XI., had been a member of the Sacred College since the age of twenty-seven, a period of thirty-four years. He was now its Cardinal-Dean, and *ex officio* Bishop of Ostia and Velletri. At the first occupation of Rome by the French, he retired to Naples, and thence to Venice, where he materially assisted in the Election of Pius VII. He returned to Rome, and died there in 1809.—*Biographia Universelle*.

that Copies of his late "Pastoral," of his Work on "Miracles," and of the "Sincere Christian," should be sent to Rome by the first neutral Ship.

Referring the Memorial to Propaganda displaced Albani, who had expected that it would be referred to himself as Protector, and in that event, the arrangement which it contemplated would have been made at once. But the Pope, by advice of Antonelli, took another course, and consulted Propaganda upon it. The Superiors and the Protectors of the other British Colleges no sooner heard of it than they took alarm at a Measure which, they felt, might ere long affect themselves. They remonstrated with Albani on the subject, both personally and by Letter, but without shaking his opinion. Their opposition, however, had this effect, that it convinced him of the necessity of beginning the proposed change gradually. He, therefore, aimed at getting a National Rector for the Scotch College, associated with an Italian Prefect, who should, if possible, be an Ex-Jesuit, as no other Italian Priest could then be found, both qualified and willing, to undertake so peculiar a Charge. If this arrangement could be made, the Protector might, at any future time when the Opposition had subsided, supersede the Italian Prefect, and appoint another Scottish Priest, without consulting any one. "This proposal pleased me very much," as Bishop Hay informed his Coadjutor, December 1, "for several reasons, and, among others, because these *Eres* are certainly capable, as we know from experience, and it will be so flattering to them at present to have the ice broke, and one of them put into such a place, that there is all reason to hope that the one that comes will exert himself to give all satisfaction."

The Bishop, though full of confidence in the support of the Protector in this delicate negotiation, yet thought it prudent to strengthen, in the prospect of an active Opposition, Albani's co-operation by another private Memorial, setting forth all the strongest arguments that occurred to him on behalf of the proposed change of Rectors, but of a kind not likely to find favour among the Italians, and, therefore, to be used only in case of extreme necessity. Albani professed himself highly satisfied with the Memorial, and retained it for subsequent use. Although his Eminence had not attended any Congregation for ten or twelve years, he undertook to be

present at the special Meeting of Propaganda, which was fixed to be held in January for the discussion of the affairs of the Scotch Mission, and at which he was to propose the Measures for adoption, and support them with all his influence.

The Bishop seems to have been less sanguine on the subject of pecuniary assistance. In the state of its affairs at that time, he expected less from the Congregation than it would otherwise be inclined to give, and less than the Mission would require. A Plan was therefore in preparation for fixing the number of Students at Douay and at Valladolid at ten each, and for withdrawing the remainder of the Funds for the support of the Mission at Home. This arrangement, with twelve Students in the Roman College, it was thought, would secure a constant and a sufficient supply of Missionaries, and would preclude the necessity of inviting foreign Alms for the Mission. The Plan, however, met with little encouragement, and was, subsequently, rendered unnecessary, by the subsidy which Propaganda was able to give.

The Bishop, ever anxious to secure accuracy and uniformity in the performance of Public Worship, discovered that the Scottish Bishops had hitherto been "under a little mistake" in giving the blessing after the *Missa Est* in private Masses, like a Priest. He now informed his Coadjutor, and begged him to communicate the fact to Bishop Macdonald, that a Bishop should always give the blessing "as a Pontiff," with "Sit nomen Domini, &c." . . . .

"P.S.—Please keep all the Letters I send you about these affairs here, as they contain an exact history of each particular, wrote at the time; and I have not time to keep doubles of them."

During the temporary cessation of his Negotiations, towards the close of December, Bishop Hay held three Ordinations in the Church of the Scotch College. On the third Sunday in Advent, December 16, he conferred the Order of Subdiaconship on three of the Students, Reginald MacEachen, Alexander Macdonald, and Donald Stuart, whom he describes as "three very promising young men," in spite of the many difficulties which had beset their training. At the same time he admitted Alexander Farquharson, another Student, to the Tonsure. On St. Thomas' Day, December 21, the thirty-third Anniversary of his

own Reception into the Church, he promoted the same young men to the Order of Deaconship; and, at the same time, conferred the first two Minor Orders on Alexander Farquharson. Once more, on St. Stephen's Day, December 26, he Ordained the three Deacons to the Priesthood, and made the young Rector an Acolyte. The three Priests returned with the Bishop on his way to Scotland as far as Paris, and lived and died usefully on the Mission.

Bishop Hay's Address was now—"Monsignor Scotti, A. S., Andrea dei Scozzesi, Piazza Barberini, a Roma." An amusing illustration of the mystery that still hung at Home over his movements, is furnished by a playful Letter addressed to Bishop Geddes by Mr. Paterson, Superior of the lonely Seminary at Scalari—[December 29]—"I meant to write to Mr. Dauley, but who knows where he is? And now, after begging your pardon, I must quarrel with you, though you be a degree above me. What is this you have done with the above-mentioned Mr. Dauley? He regularly corresponded with me before you came to the Nation; or, at any rate, I heard of him from time to time from others; but, since a few weeks after you appeared in the Metropolis, I have not gotten the least account of him. If you have only come to the Kingdom to make him disappear, I wish you had staid some years longer on the other side of the water. I'm daily praying for him amongst my living friends. . . . We expect soon to be barricaded in such a manner that neither French, Spaniards, nor Americans can disturb us. Every place enjoys a particular blessing, and we have ours."

Bishop Geddes, who by this time had returned to Edinburgh, after completing his first Visitation of his wide District, communicated his thoughts to Monsignor Scotti on several points connected with the Roman Negotiations. He very emphatically condemned the plan of appropriating the Funds of Foreign Colleges to the Home Mission, clearly showing how, in a short time, all the Clergy at the disposal of the Bishops would be fully employed. He added, in his usual, confidential tone, "I beg you will remember me much in your Prayers, especially when you are in St. Peter's, St. John Lateran's, St. Mary Major's, and at the Shrine of St. Lewis Gonzaga and St. Stan.-Kostha. . . . Could a better House be got there for the College?"

The Memorial, on the subject of the Rectorship, which Bishop Hay had presented to the Pope, and which his Holiness had referred to Propaganda, continued to be keenly canvassed. It was difficult, with any show of justice, to evade the force of its conclusions. After shortly reviewing the eminent services rendered to Religion, in former times, by the Scotch College in Rome, as the Nursery of Missionaries who had always been distinguished by their singular loyalty to the Holy See, the Memorial set forth a melancholy picture of the change that had befallen the College within the last few years. Discipline and peace had alike fled from it; Studies had fallen into neglect; Piety, itself, had greatly suffered. Several Students, abandoning their Vocation, and making little account of the obligation under which they had come to dedicate themselves to the Mission, had returned to Secular employments, to the grief of their Friends and the scandal of Religion at Home, so much so, that parents had refused to send their sons to fill vacant places in the College. To remedy a state of things so unfortunate, and with the consent of the Cardinal Protector, the Memorial proposed to substitute a Scottish Rector for the present Italian Superior of the College; to the Scottish Bishops, this appeared the most efficacious means of restoring the College to its ancient usefulness. It further proposed to unite the office of Rector with the office of Scottish Agent in Rome; and, in confirmation of the proposal, adduced the following reasons. Such an arrangement would give great satisfaction throughout Scotland, and would directly result in removing those prejudices against sending their sons to Rome, which, unhappily, prevailed among Catholic parents in Scotland. The National Rector, having himself passed some years on the Mission, would be better able to instruct the Students in many things connected with their future duties, than a Superior totally strange to Missionary duty and to Scotland. Having no ultimate views beyond the College and the Scottish Mission, a National Rector would be more likely to devote himself entirely to his Academic duties. He would also have the advantage of familiar acquaintance with the National character, and would thus succeed better in maintaining peace and harmony among the Students, and in conducting them to the end of their Vocation. As a Scottish Priest must

reside in Rome as Agent for the Clergy, his salary in that capacity would be so much saved to the College; and, although by itself his salary was not sufficient to maintain the Agent, yet it would go far towards it when supplemented by Board and Clothing received from the College. The office of the Agent was not of so laborious a nature as to prevent him from undertaking the charge of the College. It consisted principally in receiving and transmitting to Scotland the pecuniary assistance contributed by Propaganda to the Mission; in presenting to the Cardinal Protector, and to Propaganda, the Bishops' Letters; and in dispatching their Replies. His duty only implied, further, that he should take notice of any Regulations made by his Holiness, or by Propaganda, effecting the Scottish Mission, and that he should inform the Bishops of them. This constituted his sole occupation, for which two weeks in the year would be amply sufficient.

As the time for the Meeting of Propaganda drew near, the opposition to the proposed change in the Scotch Rectorship grew stronger and more active. Albani was beset with fresh remonstrances often conveyed in no polite terms. They seem, however, to make little impression upon him. Antonelli, also, over and over again pledged himself not to oppose Albani in the Congregation. A Special Meeting on Scottish affairs was held, Monday, January 28, at which eleven Cardinals were present. Nine of them, including the Protectors of the English and Irish Colleges, raised such a storm against the contemplated innovation in the Scotch College, that neither Albani nor Antonelli ventured to support it; and it fell to the ground at once without a dissentient voice. On the face of the decision, indeed, it was, *pro forma*, left to the discretion of the Cardinal Protector, *juxta mentem S. Congregationis*—[Archives of Propaganda.] But the fate of the Proposal was considered as sealed for that time, at least.

The other objects of the Bishop's journey fared better than this. The *Statuta* were conditionally approved, and referred for examination to a particular Congregation, to be appointed by his Holiness. This Congregation gave them its sanction April 3, 1782.—[Archives of Propaganda.] They were subsequently printed at the Propaganda Press, with the following Title—“ *Instructioes ad munera Apostolica Rite*

abeunda Missionibus S . . . . .  
accommode; with the Imprimatur of Michael  
de Petro, LL.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical  
History in the Lapicosa and in the Roman  
College."

Copies of the Ritual, printed at the Propaganda Press, were Voted for the supply of the Scottish Mission; but Bishop Hay afterwards procured the approbation of Propaganda for a Ritual drawn up by himself, and printed in London.—[Abate Macpherson's Continuation of History of Missions—sub anno 1782.] An Annual Subsidy of 200 Crowns was voted for the Mission. Regarding the Scotch College, Paris, the Cardinal Prefect was directed to write, as requested, “juxta mentem.”

It was, on the whole, a bitter trial for the ardent spirit of Bishop Hay. We may gather something of its bitterness from this fact, that nine days elapsed after the decision of Propaganda before he communicated the result to Bishop Geddes, and this, after a silence of more than two months. "Since my last of Dec. 1," he writes—February 6—"which you received, I have never wrote to Scotland; and I suppose so long a silence will make you fear things have not succeeded to our wish. In some things your fears are just; in others, not; and I am sorry to tell you, that they are just as to the main affair of this House." He proceeds to detail the particulars of the decision, and of the opposition that led to it; and continues—"However, I shall not fail to make some more attempts, which, though I scarce expect they will have success, yet will, at least, exonerate my own conscience and conduct. Albani assures me that he is still of his own opinion, and will not fail, as soon as the present heat subsides, to take the properest measures for bringing about what we want. This, however, I lay no stress on; being convinced that, if I be once gone, it will never more be thought of till the same miserable scenes being renewed in these Colleges, or the not sending any Boys to this place, to be exposed to the same miseries, shall convince them of the truth of what I have again and again represented to them." This alternative of not sending Boys was already contemplated by the English and Irish Bishops, in the event of National Superiors being excluded from their Colleges: "but, considering the good dispositions of our Cardinal, I should be sorry to

come to that immediately, without giving another trial; for, though he has been disappointed in his first design, I have all reason to think he will do every thing possible to put this House upon such a footing as may be still useful to our Country; and, though I see great reason to doubt if it will succeed, yet I will not be against making another trial."

The Bishop, in these last words, alludes to a revised proposal for incorporating the Scotch College with Propaganda, and which went so far as the preparation of a Memorial to that effect.—[MS. Draft, in B. Hay's handwriting, at Preshome.] Fortunately, it was never put in execution. ". . . But what shall I say?" the Bishop continues, "sic fuerit voluntas in cœlo, sic fiat! . . . May Almighty God bless and direct us continually." He adds, in a Postscript, that he had heard of a certain gentleman at home who had written to Bishop Geddes, to say that he understood Bishop Hay was making some Regulations, adding— "But it is much easier to make them than to keep them when they are made." To which Bishop Hay rejoins—"I am not surprised at his reflection, but I am a little surprised at his knowing. I did imagine that part would have been kept secret till the proper season, though it was not to be supposed but that my absence and where gone would sooner or later be known before we could have wished it. However, I shall not be sorry that, if the *Statuta* be known to be an object of my journey, every one vent the criticisms about such a step as much as they please; it will be easier to satisfy them when the affair comes to be published, that we know all their objections beforehand. But I beg you will let none see or know the contents of them. Adieu. Oremus invicem." In a Postscript to Mr. Thomson, the Bishop expresses his pleasure at the news of the flourishing condition of the Bank of Scotland, in which he had Shares, and his hopes that it may go on and prosper. He expects that the Dividend will be increased in the following April.

Bishop Hay's next Letter to his Coadjutor was written on an interesting day, February 27. His Holiness set off, that morning, on his journey to Vienna, to endeavour, if possible, by his personal influence to restrain the measures of the Emperor, Joseph II., in Ecclesiastical affairs. He took no Cardinal with him, but only two Bishops, the Vicegerent and the Elcemosynario, together

with a few attendants. As usual, public opinion in Rome was much divided on the policy of the step, and, more particularly, of the manner of taking it. Some person disapproved of the mission being undertaken without the attendance of any one qualified for so delicate a Negotiation, by birth, ability, or learning. Others, again, were full of hope, thinking his Holiness under the special direction of Heaven. "The more judicious, however," as Bishop Hay adds, "who consider the matter impartially, say that it will probably either show the particular interposition of Heaven, in producing some very good effects, or will end in smoke and greater confusion, unless some *Politica mondana* of some other Courts be at the bottom; and, then, God knows what may be the consequences. For my part, I know too little of the Political world to form any judgment of the matter; but, to me, it seems very plain that St. Malachias' Prophecy will be fulfilled by this journey, and that his Holiness is the *Peregrinus Apostolicus*." Subsequent events in the Life of this Pontiff singularly concurred in affirming the propriety of the Title.

The Abbot of Ratisbon had the honour of kissing his Holiness' hand at Munich, where the Pope remained from April 26 till May 2, on his return from Vienna. The Abbot reported that the presence of the Pope had attracted a great number of persons to Munich: "He is a truly venerable man, and he gained the love and veneration of all, not only Catholics, but also of the Protestants. We saw here contentment and cheerfulness in his face. I hear he left Vienna very malcontent, as his presence there seems to have had little effect to change the Emperor's scheme." His Holiness left Munich, to return home by Augsburg and the Tyrol.—[Ab. Arbuthnot to B. Hay, May 5.] The 13th of June witnessed his entrance into Rome, where he seems to have been received with coldness.—[Ab. Grant to B. Hay, July 10.] His deportment and his conduct at Foreign Courts had been much applauded; but it was understood that he had gained little by his journey.

Opposition did not easily daunt the vigorous mind of Bishop Hay when a great principle was involved, or a great benefit to Religion promised. During the whole of the month of February, we find him unwearied in his exertions to obtain, at least, a part of the advantage which he had hoped

for, in the National Rectorship, till the Decision of Propaganda had deprived him of that hope. Mr. Robert Grant only expressed the universal feeling of the Scottish Catholic Body, when he assured Bishop Hay that, "happen what pleases, you deserve the most grateful acknowledgments from every one that has the good of Religion at heart, in North Britain, for your unwearied endeavours to support it.—March 11.

All the satisfaction that the Bishop could obtain amounted to no more than a private assurance from Albani, that he would avail himself of the first opportunity of a lull in the opposition to appoint a National Rector to the Scotch College. In order to pave the way for this arrangement, it was concerted between the Bishop and the Cardinal that a Scottish Priest should be at once sent out to Rome, under pretext of assisting the Agent, who was now much failed and *invecchiato*; and, as Abate Grant must not have his Salary diminished, the Protector would provide the Supernumerary Priest with Board and Lodging in the College, under colour of taking some charge of the Students, until a favourable moment should arrive for placing him at the head of the House.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, April 13.]

As even the least concession was better than none, the Bishop agreed to those terms. The plan promised this additional advantage that a Scottish Priest would be on the spot, in the event of the death of the Agent, who, it was understood, would leave a considerable Legacy to his Successor. The worthy Abate Grant made no opposition to the plan, or, indeed, to any plan that did not threaten to impose the irksome duties of the Rectorship on himself. It only, therefore, remained to nominate and to send a suitable person to put the matters in train for a successful issue. Unfortunately, however, two circumstances concurred eventually to ruin the whole Scheme, and to postpone the appointment of a National Rector for nearly forty years.

This cruel disappointment was, in part, due to the Bishop's too implicit confidence in Albani's firmness. Instead of remaining on the spot till the arrival of the Agent's Assistant, and till Albani had fulfilled his promise in every particular, the Bishop was satisfied with his private assurance that everything should be amicably arranged; and at once turned his steps towards Scotland. Another circumstance still more

directly contributed to the failure of the Scheme: the choice of the person to be sent and the manner of choosing him. Bishop Hay had for a long time destined Mr. John Thomson for the Rectorship of the Scotch College—a pious and able man. At their Meeting in Edinburgh, last June, the Bishop had proposed this worthy man to his Colleagues, in the event of his Mission to Rome succeeding. They demurred, however, to the conclusion of a matter of such importance in so summary a manner; representing that, as the Successorship to the Agency was implied in the appointment of the future Rector of the Scotch College in Rome, the immemorial courtesy of consulting the Senior Missionaries, as to the most suitable person for the Office of Agent, ought not to be departed from. Bishop Hay, however, insisted so strongly that his two Colleagues with reluctance gave way, out of regard to his seniority and his great ability—[Maepherson's History of Scots College, Rome; sub. anno 1782]—but, as we shall presently see, failure was from that moment in reserve for the Scheme.

The Bishop remained in Rome till the third week after Easter; and, before leaving, sat for his Portrait, which still adorns the wall of the Rector's Room in the Scotch College. He bid a final adieu to Rome, in the middle of April, accompanied by the three young Priests whom he had Ordained at Christmas, and by another Student, not in Orders, and a Lay Jesuit Priest, of the name of Whyte, on his way to Dublin. They engaged a Vetterrino to take them, by Turin and Mont Cenis, as far as Paris, which they hoped to reach about Pentecost. When they had advanced within a stage of Turin, they learnt that the Russian Prince was to pass Mont Cenis in a few days, and, that unless they could get on before him, they would have to stop till all his Suite had passed. They at once resolved to push on, without even entering Turin; so, making a circuit round the Town, they reached Novalese that night, a distance of forty miles. But their effort was made too late; an embargo had been laid on travelling till the Prince had passed; and the Bishop and his young companions had no alternative but to wait at Novalese two days and three nights. To add to their discomfort, all the rest of their journey, from the confines of Italy to Paris, the weather was tempestuous beyond the memory of living persons; wind, rain, and

hail kept them company all the way; the roads through France were “monstrously bad,” both retarding their journey exceedingly and much fatiguing those of the little party who had to walk, which they all had to do in turn, except poor Mr. Whyte, who was unable for the exertion. A little horse which they had bought on the way, they were obliged to sell again, finding his maintenance more expensive than they could afford. Fortunately their vetturino was a good fellow, and took the best care of them; and, notwithstanding his unlucky bargain, they never heard him make use of an improper word. So unfortunate was the poor fellow that the travellers had to maintain him and his horses besides themselves during the latter part of the journey, and out of compassion they felt obliged to give him a few *louis* at parting to take him back to Lyons; but, even so, the Bishop much feared that the poor man would have to sell his coach and two horses, and ride home on his mule. Mr. Whyte had neither money enough for his journey to Dublin, nor for his expenses as far as Paris—the Bishop had to leave fifteen *louis* for him on the chance of being reimbursed by Cardinal York or the Prefect of Propaganda.—[B. Hay, Paris, to Ab. Grant, May 17.]

After allowing them ten days in Paris to recruit after this disastrous journey, the Bishop despatched his young companions, in the next week in May, to Douay, to await the sailing of a vessel from Ostend to Newcastle. He remained in Paris some days longer, employed in the forlorn endeavour to recover some of the suspended funds belonging to the Scotch College at Douay. His efforts were in vain; but the friendly dispositions of the Bishop of Rhôdez encouraged him at last to make the attempt. In the first week in June he resumed his journey to Douay, where his stay was short. “I really long to be on your side of the Tweed,” he writes to his Coadjutor,—[June 1]—“and I hope I shall never have to cross it again.” He arrived in London, June 18th. His luggage was detained at Margate, and all his Books, his Breviaries, and the Relics, Beads, and Models which he had brought from Rome were seized as contraband. This untoward accident detained him some time in London, and involved him in troublesome Correspondence with the Custom House. He succeeded at last in recovering his Property on

payment of about six guineas, and reached Edinburgh the second week in July in good health, accompanied by one of the young Roman Priests, and by two Students just returned from Spain.

### CHAPTER XIII.

1782—1783.

Assistant to the Scotch Agent at Rome appointed—Cabal against him—New Chapel begun at Edinburgh—*Devout Christian* published—B. Geddes’ numerous engagements—A case of hardship under the Penal Laws—Opposition to B. Hay—B. Geddes’ more pliant character—Death of the Superior at Scalau—Foundation of *Neilhead* (Daulien) Fund—New Chapel in Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh.

As soon as Bishop Hay had leisure, he despatched Letters of compliment to the Cardinals Albani and Antonelli,—[July 25 and 26]—urging Albani especially to fulfil his promise with regard to the Scots College. The news had reached him in Paris that his old Friend and College companion, Mr. Charles Erskine, had been made Promoter of the Faith, a Canon of St. Peter’s, and a Domestic Prelate to his Holiness. The Bishop accordingly wrote at the same time, to offer him his congratulations.

August 8th,—we find him again on the road, travelling northwards to the Meeting of the Bishops at Sealan. They remained together till the end of the month; and it was finally arranged that Bishop Geddes was henceforth to reside in Edinburgh as Procurator, and transact business with friends abroad through the Nuncio at Brussels, the Marchese Busca. “Now that my good friend Bishop Hay is returned home,” writes his Coadjutor,—[To Ab. Grant, Sept. 3]—“my burthen and concern will be less, as I will have little else to do but execute his orders, which, with God’s help, will not be a difficult task.”

At this Meeting of the Bishops and Administrators Bishop Hay announced his intention of making the Missions a present of the profits received from his books, and of the money which he had received as compensation for personal loss during the Riots of 1779. He presented £600 to the Mission Fund, and £400 to the Seminary at Sealan; for which he received the well-merited thanks of the Meeting. The

additional subsidy voted by Propaganda, and equivalent to about £48 a year, was agreeable news to the Meeting. Yet, the number of Missionaries increasing in a more rapid ratio than the means of their subsistence, it had become necessary to issue a Circular Letter, inviting contributions for this object. The apparent incongruity of soliciting alms after the very considerable average announced in the general Fund, provoked the criticism of one of the disaffected Clergy, who communicated the particulars of the Meeting to Dr. Alexander Geddes in a satirical vein. Yet the very same Clergyman, only four days before, had gone out of his way to add his personal acknowledgment of thanks to the Bishop for his generous gift to the Mission Fund. It transpires, however, that he had lately had a dispute with Bishop Hay, in which, according to his own account, the Bishop had been defeated. Such are the trials of a Superior in all times.

Early in September, Bishop Hay left Sealan to pass a week or ten days among his friends in the Enzie, and to reach Aberdeen by the middle of the month. He complained again at this time that his memory was much failed. He then returned for some weeks to Edinburgh, to put Bishop Geddes in full possession of all the information necessary for the Procuratorship. About this time he received a very friendly Letter from a Count Gastaldi, in Rome, whom the Bishop had met at Marino, last autumn. He says—"I propose going within a few days to Marino, when I shall reflect on the many happy hours I spent there last year in your company. I hope you continue to remember me in your worthy prayers."—[Sept. 21.]

At the Meeting of the Bishops and the Administrators, it had been announced that Mr. Thomson was to be the person sent to Rome ultimately, as it was proposed, to be Rector of the Scotch College, and Assistant and Successor to the old Agent. Instantly a storm of remonstrance and of protest against his appointment was raised among the senior Clergymen. It was admitted that he was a good and an able man, and much addicted to study. But his manners were unpolished; his address was awkward, and his utterance embarrassed; so as to make an unfavourable impression on persons whom long acquaintance had not made familiar with his

hidden merits. It was contended that he was a most unsuitable person to despatch on a Mission of such extreme delicacy, among a people the most polished and the most sensitive in Europe. His double office would only expose him more conspicuously to their criticism; and, as the National College was now, for the first time, to be presided over by a Scottish Secular Priest, it was of the highest consequence that the person chosen should be one likely to give the Roman people a favourable impression of the Nation.—[Maepherson's *History of Scots College*, sub anno, 1782.]

Perhaps the senior Clergymen had no legal right to a voice in this matter beyond the right which immemorial courtesy had attached to their opinion on similar arrangements; and beyond the frequent invitation which Bishop Hay had on other occasions given them, freely to speak their mind. Now, unfortunately, he was inexorable; even his Colleagues were unable to dissuade him from his purpose. Mr. Thomson received his instructions, and on the 8th August parted with the Bishop for ever in this world at Queensferry, whither he had accompanied the Bishop, so far on his journey to Sealan. A few hours before starting for Edinburgh,—[Sept. 1]—Mr. Thomson wrote another Farewell in affecting terms. After expressing how much he felt at leaving his native Country, where he had many friends whom he had no hope of ever seeing again, he added, "But my regret for parting with you is founded on superior motives; and, believe me, it is one of the severest trials I have met with.

. . . . In spite of malice, envy, jealousy, and prejudice, I shall always preserve an unalterable regard for you. I know the sincerity and uprightness of your conduct and intentions, and have often regretted to see you loaded with numerited censure for doing your duty. You resemble, the more, other great and holy Prelates who have been treated in the same manner, and I hope you will persevere with the same firmness. I am sorry you have chosen Aberdeen for your residence." This worthy man carried with him the affectionate and grateful remembrance of the Edinburgh Congregation. By September 22nd, he had reached Douay, and proposed to go on to Paris in a day or two. We find him at Genoa, October 25th, after a pleasant journey through France and Savoy, and on the

eve of sailing for Leghorn, where he would travel by land to Rome.

Meanwhile some of the senior Clergymen, finding Bishop Hay deaf to their representations, resorted to an unjustifiable method of making Rome acquainted with their Protest. They concurred in forwarding an anonymous Letter, drawn up by Dr. Alexander Geddes, filled with extravagant censure of Bishop Hay and his Nominee, Mr. Thomson. It is humiliating to find that so cowardly and contemptible a method of opposition actually turned the scale against both of them. Since the Bishop's departure from Rome, and since the engagement under which Albani had come to him had transpired there, the former storm against a National Superior had been redoubled on the part of all concerned in the Government of the English and Irish Colleges. Albani had been again beset by Petitions, and by Remonstrances. The energy and the moral courage of the Scottish Protector were not equal to his undoubted ability: he grew weary of a struggle in which he had no personal interest, and only waited for some pretext to cancel the arrangement that he had made with Bishop Hay. As ill luck would have it, the anonymous Letter from Scotland reached him at the moment, when it supplied all that he desired. Albani at once made the opposition to Mr. Thomson his ostensible reason for refusing even to admit him into the College. Not content with this victory, the opponents of the National Rectorship carried the question again to Propaganda; Albani again assisted at a Congregation, by which it was unanimously determined, without even a voice being raised on the other side, that no National Superiors should be admitted into any of the British Colleges; the Decree, however, was a little softened by the addition of the words—"for the present."—[Macpherson's Hist. ut supra.]

The consequence of this was that when *poor* Mr Thomson arrived in Rome—November 8th—little dreaming of what awaited him, he found the doors of the College closed against him. The Protector would do nothing for him. But for the kindness of Monsignor Erskine he must have starved. This excellent man at once represented the state of the case to his Holiness, who gave immediate orders that Mr Thomson

should be provided with board and lodging in the Scotch College. A few months afterwards the Agent went home on a visit to his friends, and deputed Mr. Thomson to act for him in his absence, dividing his salary with his Deputy; who, on the death of Abate Grant, entered on the duties and the income of the Agent. Mr. Thomson's pecuniary difficulties were thus removed in no long time. He had, however, much to suffer in other ways. Marchioni, the Rector of the College, submitted to his presence there in no friendly spirit; even inciting the Students to treat him with courtesy. Feuds and divisions among them were the result, some of them taking Mr. Thomson's part, and some of them the Rector's. Discipline, of course, suffered; several Students left the House without accomplishing their Vocation; Marchioni prevailed on all of them to attest, before leaving, that Mr Thomson was the cause of their failure. Year after year, the Bishops at home remonstrated, and entreated that some remedy might be applied to this unhappy state of things; at last they resolved to send no more Students to Rome. Albani, as reprisals for their censure, suspended payment of the income arising from the Chevalier's Legacy to the Scottish Seminaries; the Bishops were therefore obliged to dissemble their resentment, and resume sending Students.

Mr Thomson was equally unfortunate in his intercourse with Albani. In addition to his ungraceful manners the Scottish Priest could not restrain himself from speaking all his mind, however disagreeably; in his second interview with Albani an unbecoming altercation took place, and Mr. Thomson expressed, in no measured terms, his opinion of the Protector's conduct. He was never permitted to approach his Eminence again, and the hopes of a National Rectorship were entirely frustrated.—[Macpherson's Hist. of Scots College, sub anno, 1782.]

How utterly unprepared Bishop Hay was for this result may be gathered from a Communication which he made to the Agent in Rome, September 21. Having heard that his Letter of compliment to Albani had never been delivered, while Antonelli and Monsignor Erskine had both of them received theirs, the Bishop requests the Agent to deliver another Copy with his own hand, together with the Bishop's "most affectionate compliments" to the Cardinal; and to

represent to his Eminence that, as there would certainly be a strong opposition made to Mr. Thomson, the most probable way of securing what the Scottish Bishops so earnestly desired, and of sparing Mr. Thomson many mortifications, would be at once to strike a bold stroke, appoint him Rector of the Scotch College, with F. Thorpe or F. Spagni as his Prefect.

In fact, Mr. Alexander Cameron's acute criticism on the whole affair, a few months later, probably comes near the truth. Writing from Valladolid to console and encourage Mr. Thomson, he expresses his opinion that his Friend had been sent to Rome prematurely,—“Mr. Hay's superior talents, which his humility cannot certainly altogether conceal from himself, and his reetitude of intention, of which he must be conscious, spur him on to action at full gallop, without giving him time to examine his route.”

—[January 11, 1783.]

October 7th.—We find the Bishop surprising the Family at Traquair at dinner, having walked out from Peebles. He remained with them for two days, and returned to Edinburgh. The weather was unusually bad; in many places the crops had perished, and serious fears of famine were entertained for the ensuing winter. As the season advanced great distress prevailed, which was increased by a deficiency of seed-corn, especially in Glenlivat and the Cabrach.

November 20th found the Bishop at Dundee, on his return to Aberdeen for the winter, where he was once more settled before the end of the month. His Coadjutor remained in Edinburgh in his double character as Pastor and as Procérator for the Mission in both the Vicariates, residing in Dickson's Close, with Mr Donald Stuart as his Curate. He had just executed a Disposition of his property in trust to Bishop Hay and Mr. Paul Macpherson.—[December 16.] The Abbot of Ratisbon took an opportunity of congratulating the Mission on its affairs having been intrusted to so excellent a Prelate.

The preceding month of October had witnessed the decease of a venerable Ex-Priest, F. John Farquharson, at the mature age of 83. He began his Missionary life in Scotland, when Bishop Hay was two months old; afterwards he resided at Douay, and since the suppression of his Order he had lived principally in Braemar, his native Valley. October 12th he was found in the morn-

ing in a state of stupor; he lingered throughout the day totally unconscious, and early in the following day, having received Extreme Unction, he calmly expired before the end of the Mass that was being celebrated in his room.

On Christmas-Eve, 1782, the new Chapel at Aberdeen was Opened; people pronounced it the best that had been reared in Scotland since the “Reformation.” The Bishop, after communicating the intelligence of its completion to his Coadjutor, added, “God grant his blessing to it, and quiet possession.” For some little time after, we find him engaged in providing new Vestments, and Antependiums for the Altar.

1783. A still more important Undertaking was at this time set on foot in Edinburgh; nothing less than another attempt to provide a better Chapel there. Warned by their late disastrous experience, the Bishops adopted a different course, and instead of selecting a retired Site on which to erect a separate Edifice, they looked about in a populous neighbourhood for a house capable of alteration or of enlargement to suit their purpose. Nearly opposite to the Chapel which the Catholics of Edinburgh had long possessed, on the east side of Blackfriars' Wynd, Bishop Hay found a Tenement, No. 35, which promised to answer all his purposes. Bishop Geddes does not seem to have entirely coincided with him in his choice, but acknowledges that the proposed purchase had many advantages.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, April 21.] No situation could be more central; and, what was even of more importance, the neighbourhood had long been familiar with the existence of a Catholic Chapel. The house, as it then stood, consisted of three stories, and was roofed with lead. It was proposed to purchase the upper story and raise the walls, so as to admit of a Chapel immediately under the roof.

Blackfriars' Wynd, though at the present time one of the most disreputable quarters of the Scottish Capital, had not then lost its pretensions to respectability, and even, in some degree, to fashion. It is curious to trace in the history of this very House the gradual depreciation of the society inhabiting the Wynd. The House was originally built in the seventeenth Century by a Mr. William Robertson, a “merchant” or tradesman in Edinburgh. Its leaden roof and its stone parapet in front belonged to

his time. In 1702 the lowest story became the property of Mary, Countess Dowager of Callander. In the following year Miss Isobel Nisbet, eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Nisbet of Dean, became possessor of the third or upper story, probably on her Marriage with Mr. Alexander Stuart of Torrans. This lady, in 1722, gave it to her youngest son, Archibald, a "writer to the signett," or Solicitor, who in turn, in 1730, disposed of it to a Captain James Douglas, late of the Earl of Orkney's Royal Regiment of Foot. The eldest son of this gentleman, in 1751, transferred it to the possession of a Mr. James Elphinstone, son of a deceased Minister in Edinburgh. From him it passed into the hands of another Edinburgh Lawyer, Mr. Orme, and at the time of the Bishops' purchase it belonged to a Mr. Allan Buchanan, a lace weaver in Edinburgh, who had acquired it from Mr. Orme. The first floor of the house was at this time occupied by a Lady of Family, Mrs. Hamilton of Belhaven, commonly called "Lady Pencaitland." She was also possessor of a little garden attached to the house. The floor above was inhabited by two maiden ladies, Miss Jean and Miss Isobel Cockburn, daughters of the late Sir James Cockburn (of that Ilk).—[Title Deeds of the Bishops' purchase.]

When a purchase was resolved on before Bishop Hay left Edinburgh in November, 1782, the greatest secrecy was observed in the preliminary negotiations. John Christie, a carpenter, was employed, as a House Agent to treat with Mr. Buchanan. When it came to be known that the purchaser intended to raise the roof of the house, the ladies inhabiting the lower stories, and especially "Lady Pencaitland," made a strong opposition. Mr. Buchanan, though otherwise friendly, did not choose to run the risk of injuring his lace business by offending persons who had probably dealt with him, and therefore declined to obtain legal permission for the purchaser of his property to build. It became necessary for John Christie, as prospective purchaser, to apply in the usual way to the Dean of Guild or Curiale *Ædile* of the City, for leave to make the proposed changes in his purchase. A competent person was sent to inspect it; he reported favourably, and leave to build was granted in due form. The Agents for the ladies appealed to the Court of Session, but the

Appeal was dismissed, on security being found that neither the walls of the house nor the little garden should suffer, and that the new floor should not be divided into small rooms, for the purpose of being let to poor tenants.

These little difficulties being safely surmounted, with the assistance of a trusty Legal adviser, Mr. John Macnab—the sale was concluded between Christie and Buchanan on payment of £175. The same day, Christie made over possession of the property to Mr. Macnab, who acted for the Bishops, and who transferred the property to them by a Formal Deed, June 17th. The work of raising the walls was immediately begun, and proceeded rapidly. By the end of May the slating of the new roof was nearly finished. But few persons were at first privy to the destination of the new building as a Chapel; externally, the appearance of a dwelling-house with chimneys was preserved, both for the sake of security, and in case it might afterwards be convenient or necessary to convert it to such a purpose. [B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 28.] Internally the whole length of the new floor, extending north and south, was occupied by the Chapel, a room about fifty feet long and twenty-five broad. It was approached by the public by the common turret stair, which connected the stories of the house with one another; a small wooden stair inside the dwelling-house in the floor below afforded the Clergy private access to the Chapel.

Bishop Hay was occupied during the early months of this year, chiefly in Parochial and Literary duties. His assistant, Mr Paul Macpherson, was in infirm health; the Bishop, therefore, for many weeks relieved him from the duty of Preaching, by performing it himself. The preparation of a second Part of *The Sincere Christian*, afterwards named *The Devout Christian*, also engaged a considerable part of his time. In the old Chapel-House at Aberdeen, an attic with a sloping roof and lighted by a skylight, is shown as the place where the Bishop studied and wrote. His principal Literary Companion was St. Thomas, particularly the *Secunda Secunda*. [B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 2.] He found time, also, for an active Correspondence at home and abroad. Hopeless negotiations were still pending with Rome, on the interminable subject of the Scotch College,

and of the Neapolitan Abbacies; many intricate affairs of money and of business had to be discussed in writing with his Coadjutor and with others. His advice must be taken in matters connected with the Healing Art. Thus, in reply to an application from Bishop Geddes, on behalf of a poor woman whose eyes were affected, we find Bishop Hay prescribing "Ten grains of white vitriol, fifteen grains of sugar of lead, and four ounces of water, well mixed, and shaken when used."—[Feb. 11.]

Sometimes the quiet tenor of his life was diversified by a short Excursion. Thus, March 22, we find the Bishop informing his Coadjutor that, on the following day he was going on a short visit "to Patmos," (meaning Scalau.) A few days later in the same month, he had a call to Fetternear, to Baptize one of Mr. Leslie's daughters. When he arrived there, he found a winter's work on his hands, in preparing some recent Converts in that neighbourhood for Confirmation.

It was a winter of unusual severity and of trial for the poor. At one time, it was almost impossible to procure meal at any price, for the little Community at Scalau. Large demands were made on the Bishop's charity, even from the most distant parts of his District; from the country and from the towns; he was, in consequence, under the necessity of calling in all the money that he could make available, to distribute in alms.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Jan. 13, and early in April.]

On the first day of this New-Year, the simple and excellent Mr. William Guthrie, now residing at Mortlach, about 12 miles from Keith, sat down to send the wishes of the Season to his old College Friend, Bishop Geddes, at Edinburgh. He had been thought dying by his friends, but was then recovering. "When you have a moment of spare time from necessary business, I defy you to write to any one on earth, who has a warmer heart to you, or has had, these thirty-three years, than I have." Indeed, the uniform gentleness and charity of Bishop Geddes attracted to him the affections of persons the most dissimilar in every other respect. Even the intractable Dr A. Geddes continued to write to him frequently from London, in terms of warm friendship. In the mixed society of the Capital, his accomplishments and his amiability

made him a welcome visitor and guest even at tables where Bishop Hay's severe manner would not have been acceptable; a disposition in Protestant circles, which the good Bishop endeavoured to turn to the best account, to the diminution of prejudice. There can be no doubt, however, that while he was busy cultivating the acquaintance of Lawyers, of Antiquaries, and of Men of Letters, and even of Religion, the more rigid claims of Business were not unfrequently and inconveniently postponed. Bishop Hay, whose own manner of life had been so very different, during his residence in Edinburgh, seems to have been unable to sympathise with the views of his Coadjutor, or even to imagine that the great changes which a few years had effected in the relation of the Catholic Body of Scotland to their fellow-countrymen, might possibly make it desirable, and even necessary to devote a little time and pains, with advantage, to the cultivation of friendly relations. As early as January 21, we find him remonstrating with his friend, in his usual forcible way:—"Much honoured, dear Sir, I easily perceive from all the Letters I have had the pleasure of receiving from you, for some time past, that you have had your hands full of Business; for they all appeared to have been written in a hurry. Several things I had mentioned in mine were taken no notice of; and two small favours I asked you to do for me, to wit, to let me know your opinion about what Answers I shall send to Rome, to Albani's and Mr. Thomson's Letter, and about the plan of a Letter to his Holiness, you never gave me the least hint of my having mentioned them. However, I was sensible that the business of the Christmas time must have given you much to do, besides all your other duties, and therefore readily excused you in my own mind; the more so, because I really expected this would be the case, as I more than once equivalently told you, when speaking of the fear I had, that your passionate fondness for extending and preserving your acquaintances and friendships would soon occupy so much of your time as would make your other duties too heavy for you. The real duties of your present Station are great and many; but they may be accomplished. I had many years' experience of them, myself, and during a great part of which time I had no one to help me,

even with the people ; and yet, I found means, even, to study a good deal, as well as go through the whole." The Bishop incidentally mentions the illness and the delicacy of several Missionaries, and the hardships of others, from scarcity of food ; and commissions Bishop Geddes to procure some supplies in Edinburgh, and to send them to him, and to some of the Missionaries, through a Merchant at Aberdeen ; all at Bishop Hay's personal expense.

Early in February, he again addressed Bishop Geddes. It would be impossible to collect Priests enough at Aberdeen for the Consecration of the Holy Oils ; Bishop Geddes must therefore undertake that duty in Edinburgh. "The way I used to do it was sometimes to begin early in the morning, and give the other Churchman time to go and serve the people at the usual hour ; and sometimes I did it, after the Public Service was over." A point for discussion had lately occurred to the Bishops, relating to pocket-money allowed to the Students in the Colleges. It appeared in a very dissimilar light to the Bishops. Dr Hay, in the same letter, thus records his opinion on the Subject: "I was always persuaded that the giving of money to boys in Colleges would have bad consequences, and have ever discouraged it all I could; it raises wants in them which they otherwise never would think of, and gives them an inclination to certain solaces and conveniences which, when they come home, considering our situation, is of no advantage to them, as some of themselves have actually acknowledged to me. And though you and I may perhaps differ in our opinion about this point, yet I heartily wish it could be got abolished; I shall concur in anything that may be thought proper for that purpose."

The Answer of Bishop Geddes was, like all his compositions, elaborate and calm. He dissented from the opinion of his Friend on the ground that a little money enabled Students to employ their leisure time innocently and profitably. He reminded the Bishop that at the time of his coming to the Scotch College in Rome, in 1751, the allowance to Students for pocket-money was only six pounds, or five shillings a year, a sum so utterly inadequate as to have been positively injurious to the Students, till Bishop Hay arrived with a few guineas in his pocket, which he

divided among the Students, and with which they purchased combs, penknives, beads, pictures, and, above all, books—such as De Ponte's *Meditations*, and many others of a similar kind ; and with which Bishop Hay himself bought fiddle-strings. After these little personal reminiscences of College-days, Bishop Geddes proceeded,—"Our friend should write of things that he has had opportunity to know, and give his decision on certain subjects when he has governed boys successfully for a dozen of years. Before he has done that he will have occasion to study human nature more than he seems as yet to have done." With the freedom of an old friend, this excellent man did not disguise from Bishop Hay the disposition among many of the Missionaries to regard him as rigorous. He continued, "We must look back to the times when we ourselves were students, and remember the sentiments we then had. In our college there were abuses; one was, by far too much meat was given to us, and too great a variety on several days in the year, which occasioned no small expense. But would you or Mr. Thomson have liked that any diminution had been made? I remember, in the year 1755, F. Alticozzi thought it unnecessary to carry out Parmesan cheese for us to the country. What a noise did not this occasion? And you, my dear friend, and Mr. Guthrie were not among the last to insist that I should go to the Rector, to remonstrate against this infringement of our rights. The task was to me disagreeable—the reception I met with was something rough. Never will I forget the circumstances, for I believe that little event occasioned a revolution in my mind. We are not to expect that others will be much wiser, or more moderate than we were; and we must make some allowances. The secret lies in condescending without spoiling, and in curbing without causing discontent, which are pernicious in the highest degree to piety and learning."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 5.] Commentary would only weaken these words of gentle wisdom; and they have a wider application than to the management of Boys.

Bishop Hay, in his Reply, showed himself fully worthy of having such a Friend and Adviser. After disposing of some matters of Business he proceeded,—"Although you and I have I may say since our first acquaintance been very

much united in sentiments as to the most of things, especially of those which are of the greatest importance, yet as we have for some considerable time past been in two very different lines of life, and the experience we have had has been on different subjects, we need not be surprised, my dear friend, if we should see certain matters in different lights, and differ in our opinion about them. However, as I am very conscious of my own infirmities in many respects, and of the daily decay of my faculties in certain things, I hope I shall be enabled to keep a resolution I have laid down, of not engaging in any affair of consequence against the approbation of my Colleagues, especially where it is an affair of a public nature that concerns us all. Whether the giving money to the boys in Colleges be an expedient measure is a point on which we seem to differ in our opinions; whether it were advisable for me to take any steps to hinder it is another point in which I yield entirely to your reasons."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 9.]

A few days later we find Bishop Hay discussing several questions of Discipline with his Coadjutor. They were at one in their disapproval of publishing a general Dispensation from the strict Law of the Church regarding Lent; but Bishop Hay gave every Missionary power to grant particular Dispensations to private persons, wherever in conscience it should appear necessary. Among these particular Dispensations was included permission to eat Meat three days in the week till Palm Sunday, and with the exception of Ember Week. The Bishop also insisted on some Good Work being always imposed by way of compensation. "The obligation of Proclamations of Marriage was never intended to be indispensable or unexceptionable; the Church does not make them so, far less should I. I judged it very necessary in the beginning, especially at Edinburgh, where the greatest want of them was felt, to be sparing in granting Dispensations till the practice should be properly established, as every such Dispensation is a weakening of the Law, and opens the door to its annihilation. Have this in view, and I give you full authority to grant a Dispensation of the Proclamations whenever you judge it in your conscience to be advisable."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 23.]

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Monsignor Erskine, now raised to the *Prætura*, addressed a friendly Letter to his old Fellow-Student, Bishop Geddes, in reply to a Letter of Congratulation received from him.—[March 15.] "I was very happy to find your writing and your name in Mr. Hay's Letter, and am very sensible of your kind remembrance of me. But what of the times passed together in our youth? Those were the fine shining days. One knows and learns to value them when they are passed. However, we must run our career, and the most displeasing part of it is, that we lose in it all our friends, one after the other; as now it happens to me, with my very good friend, Mr. Grant, as it happened formerly with you. But, however distant, be sure that I am, and shall always be, your most obedient and humble servant."

Mr. Menzies, the Priest of the Highland Congregation in Edinburgh, had applied for Faculties in a reserved Case, to Bishop Hay, through his Coadjutor. The Bishop—[April 17]—in acceding to his Request, reminded Bishop Geddes that he had ample powers to grant such Faculties, citing, in proof of the assertion, the words of the original *Statuta*, lately Confirmed by Propaganda. "In quibus omnibus casibus Presbyteri, præter quam in articulo mortis, ad nos, vel ad eos qui a nobis deputantur, consilium a nobis et facultatum absolvendi petiuntur recurrant."—*Stat. Peristich.* iii. 3. "Ubi verba a nobis tum vicarios ipsos tum etiam deputatos includant, necesse est; quoniam ad nos, *relios* recurerre judicantur. Et hoc consilio tibi, Coadjutori meo, omnes facultates, quoad forum internum quas ipse possideo, jam ab initio concessi, iterumque concedo." The Priest at Stobhall had given the Bishops much trouble, and steps for his removal were now in progress. After, as usual, transacting many complicated matters of Business and of Accounts, the Bishop concluded, "I most earnestly pray God to grant you a large share of the blessings of this Holy Season. I am sorry you are so much oppressed with affairs, but we must have a little patience. I wish to be able to relieve you as soon as possible."

The Scottish Antiquarian Society was founded this year. Bishop Geddes, regarding it as another opportunity of cultivating the Charities of life among his general acquaintances, took an active interest in its establishment. At a Meet-

ing of the Society, at which the Bishop had presented to the Library a Copy of Leslie's History of Scotland, it was suggested to him by Lord Buchan that he should present the world with a Life of the good Bishop of Ross.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, April 21.]

His Parochial labours were further complicated at this time, by the painful duty of preparing an Irish Prisoner for Execution. The Magistrates gave him every facility of access to his Penitent, who seems to have manifested all the dispositions becoming his situation. "He went decently to death, and gave great edification to all."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 28.] At the place of Execution, Bishop Geddes gave him Absolution from a window, close at hand.

From these and many other causes, the Coadjutor's Correspondence with Aberdeen again fell into serious arrears. Want of exactness seems to have been so foreign to Bishop Hay's nature, as to disturb his composure more than any subject of equal importance could do. When, therefore, his Coadjutor wrote at last, enclosing a Letter from Rome, the Bishop's reply was severer than either the circumstances of the case seemed to warrant, or than the long and intimate friendship of the Correspondents would have led us to expect—

"Much honoured dear Sir,—I am certainly much obliged to Mr. Thomson's Letter, as it has procured me the favour of one from you sooner than otherwise I would have got; though very near a fortnight later than your express promise in your last. When I was in your Place, I always considered the regular Correspondence with my Superior as one of my principal branches of duty, nor do I believe he ever once had occasion to blame me for neglect that way; and yet I cannot help thinking that I had as much to do, of real duty, as you have at present. I make no doubt, my most dear Sir, but you are *oppressed with things in our own way entirely*; but *our own way entirely* has a very comprehensive signification. And as you must by no means, (nor do I see how you can in conscience,) allow yourself to be oppressed by such of these things as are not of real necessity, I beg and conjure you, for God Almighty's sake, to make a distinction among what things you have to do, and applying yourself to what are really and properly duty, discard many of the rest. Though a thing be good in itself, it is not always what God requires of us *hic et nunc*, and its being agreeable to our own inclinations and particular turn of mind, is very often the strongest argument that it is not the thing that God requires

of us. The duties you owe to the People's Souls, as their Pastor, claim the first place, and these are of three classes: What regards their Instruction, the Administrating the Sacraments to them, and Attending them in their Sicknes. Next to these, I shall very readily allow what you owe to the publick, as Procurator. But next to these two classes of Duties, I think without any presumption I may claim the third place both with regard to your executing any Commissions I may trouble you with (which I shall take care shall only be about things relating to the common Cause) and with regard to the Corresponding regularly with me about our common Concerns. Whether Miss Drummond's affairs, which made you so busy, were of the two first classes, I cannot say. Some time ago, in Spring, I desired you to write Mr. Wilson, at Glasgow, about my affairs there; they are of some consequence to the publick, and if not attended must be lost. Getting no answer from you to that point, I mentioned it again, afterwards, but to this day you have never given me the satisfaction to know if you had written or not; and yet Whitsunday is the time that something ought to have been done about it. I wrote to you some weeks ago what I wished to be done with Mr. Donald Stewart. In the way he wrote me about his health I thought it my duty to take some step with him, and wrote you what I thought best. I would have been glad to have known what had been done, it would have been a comfort that my scheme had succeeded, if not, I must have taken some other course. But not a word. As Mr. Thomson, in one of his late Letters, which you saw, seemed still desirous that some application should be made to Naples, and you had told me that you had the plan of a Memorial for that purpose in your mind, I asked your opinion whether or not it would be advisable to send the Memorial to Mr. Thomson, leaving it to him to use it or not, as circumstances might require. But to this no Answer. I wrote you—but I shall go no further in relating cases; perhaps those mentioned may not appear to you in a light that deserved to be mentioned at all. It is true, about the Easter time, I neither did nor could expect to hear from you, but it is now four weeks past Easter. I cannot possibly suppose that either of the two first classes of Duties above-mentioned could have so wholly occupied your time since that, as to hinder you from Corresponding fully with me upon the several present topics of our Correspondence, and I am really mortified to think that other Duties (if they can be called by that name) should be preferred before that, and oppress you at the same time. I return you Mr. Thomson's letter, and I desire to know what you think of the matter now. Let me know without delay if you have ever written to Glasgow; if not, you need not, for I shall free you of that trouble. I desire to know what is to be done with Mr. Stewart. Let me know also if you

have got the money remitted to Dublin, as I am delaying to answer my worthy Friend, till I know if you can get it done. I remain, with all wonted regard,—M. H. D. S.—Ever yours in Due, Dauley.

“Aberdeen, 17th May, 1783.”

As is often the case with Letters of a critical nature, Bishop Geddes was engaged in writing to his Friend on the very day that Bishop Hay was taking him so severely to task for his procrastination; and their Letters crossed each other. A few expressions in a Letter from Bishop Hay, a few days later in date, betray a physical cause for his recent impatience; “I am not surprised you should find contradictions and inconsistencies in my different Letters, when the head is confused, and the memory failed, the productions from them must be confused also. My bodily health has been pretty well most of this Winter, but my mind is sometimes so confused, and my ideas so indistinct, that I scarce know that I am thinking at all; nor could I tell on what; this, however, is in different degrees, sometimes more, sometimes less violent; and as for my memory, there is scarce a day that I could recollect at night, the series of what I have been doing that day, or what has passed in any one conversation; unless I had been reflecting on it immediately when done, and fixing it in some degree in my mind. If this infirmity increase, I fear I shall soon be obliged to give up all concern; but if such be God’s will, I have no objection. I intend this Summer to jaunt about through the North, and make a pretty long visitation”—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, May 26.]

Next day, the Bishop still more expressly solicits the forbearance of his Friend. “Indeed I am becoming jealous of my own ideas; I find my imagination so apt to be heated with things that touch it, and have been so often deceived by it, that I scarce know how far I can depend upon anything it suggests, where the case is not otherwise certain. I hope my dear Friend will give some allowance to this, and excuse any trouble I may give him on this account.”—[Same to same, May 27.]

These affecting appeals met with the fullest sympathy in the heart of his Friend. “I cannot well express how much I am grieved at what you write about your memory, &c., but I am persuaded you exaggerate. However, you cer-

tainly should moderate your application; sleep more, and take exercise. You excite my tenderness, my dearest Friend, when you beg of me to sympathise with you. I think I know what I owe to you, and with the help of my God, I shall do everything in my power to make you easy. Your coming up hither, or going North to the country, will be of use to you. But you have spared yourself a great deal too little; I beg of you do it now. It shall be my study, as it is my duty, to ease you of all the trouble you desire, and I can. But it is too soon to write in this style to you in some respects. You will believe it comes from dutiful affection.”—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 28.]

At this time, a Lawsuit of considerable interest to the Catholic Body was pending in the Court of Session. Miss Gordon of Auchanaey, a Catholic lady in the neighbourhood of Keith, had lately succeeded to an unexpired Lease, on the death of a relation. Her title to do so was disputed by the next heir, on the ground of her Religion, which, it was pleaded, was a disqualification, under the existing Penal Laws. The case came first before Lord Eskgrove, who reported it as involving a point of great nicety, to the higher tribunal of the “Inner House;” and it was set down for argument before the whole Court. Mr. Abercrombie, Miss Gordon’s Counsel, drew up an excellent written Pleading for his Client, which was shewn to Bishop Geddes for his revision before it was printed, for the use of the Judges. The services of the Lord Advocate were also retained in the Cause, and Bishop Hay furnished Bishop Geddes with a Letter of Introduction to his Lordship. Bishop Geddes requested Principal Robertson to give him a personal Introduction, which was cheerfully granted. The Bishop took breakfast with the Principal, and they went together to call on the Lord Advocate. His Lordship was very polite, promised to give the Case his best attention, and invited the Bishop to call again. He did so, and was still more kindly received; the Advocate renewing his assurances of doing his utmost for Miss Gordon. The Politician could not resist his opportunity, but must express a hope that he stood well with all the Bishop’s “people.” To which the Bishop could only reply by assuring him that he did so, and with reason.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, July 3.] When the

Cause came on for Hearing, July 15, we find Bishop Geddes watching it in the Gallery. The Court, consisting of ten Judges present, was unanimous in its opinion that a Catholic could succeed to, and enjoy a Lease of land in Scotland, on equal terms with a Protestant. Lords Justice Clerk, Hailes, Gardenstown, Monboddo, Kennet, and Eskgrove, delivered their Opinions at length.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, August 18.]

For some little time there had been much serious deliberation between the two Bishops on the expediency of investing some of the Mission Fund in the new Aberdeen Bank.—[June 1.] In one of his Letters on the subject, Bishop Hay, after discussing, with his accustomed minuteness, the whole question of the proposed purchase of Shares, remarks:—“When first I wrote to you that I was unwilling to take the Shares of this Bank in my own name, my reasons were personal. You know I had resolved some time since to withdraw myself, as much as possible, from the bustle and dissipation which necessarily attend the care of our little Temporal affairs. I am now upon the decline in my constitution, and not so fit as formerly for these matters; besides, having already a connection with the Edinburgh Bank [of Scotland], I was unwilling to appear here to have any connection with the other.” In the course of this discussion, the Bishop thus states his own pecuniary affairs:—“You know I have not twopence of personal property; my yearly income dies with myself; and though there be several sums paid out in my name, yet I am only Trustee for others, to whom they belong.”

The eccentric Lord George Gordon was at this time engaged in preparing a Vindication of his conduct during the period of the Anti-Catholic Riots. A Catholic Nobleman, (Lord Petre,) in the course of a conversation with Lord George, had spoken to him of Bishop Hay as if the Bishop were a rash, meddling, and turbulent person. Lord George published the substance of this Conversation in a London Paper; but the Catholic Peer, ashamed of the publicity given to his remarks on the Bishop, bought up the whole Impression of the Paper, and took extreme pains to hush up the matter before it could reach the Bishop’s ears. As usual, an officious Friend was not long in communicating what had happened to Bishop

Hay. This Friend had seen the Newspaper in question, but was unable to procure a Copy to send to the Bishop. From the similarity of the charges brought against the Bishop to those which Dr. A. Geddes had often been heard to make, it was at once accepted as certain that the Doctor was Lord George’s authority; and Bishop Hay, apparently without reflecting on the possibility of mistake in what was, after all, a matter of conjecture, expressed to his Coadjutor (June 4) his regret that through him Religion “should be hurt by the unjust resentment of that poor man.” Bishop Geddes, however, was able positively to assure his Friend (August 18) that he was mistaken in supposing Dr. A. Geddes to have been the ultimate authority for what Lord George had published. A little Incident, which is pregnant with lessons of prudence and forbearance in judging of the acts even of persons who have otherwise laid themselves open to suspicion—an Incident, also, which, taken in combination with many others, justifies the opinion already alluded to—that if Bishop Geddes had been the judge of Dr. A. Geddes, instead of Bishop Hay, Religion might never have lost its hold on the unhappy Wit.

Bishop Hay still continued to regret and protest against the multifarious engagements of his Coadjutor, as seriously interfering with the despatch of Business. He was very desirous to relieve Bishop Geddes from part of his burden, if the means for doing so could be found. “I only wish and entreat you not to take too much upon you, but go at leisure, even in doing what the Pastoral Charge may seem to require.”—[June 16.] And again, after complaining of the unpunctuality of Bishop Geddes’ Correspondence, pointing out to him a serious instance of its inconvenience:—“My dearest Friend, this is not the exact way of transacting business.”—[June 26.] Even at the expense of a little irregularity in business, Bishop Geddes knew that his many gifts were well employed in conciliating the good will of all classes of persons, and with gentle firmness he held to the line which he had marked out for himself. At this time we meet with an example of his popularity. Mr. Alexander Cameron had sent home £100 for the Scottish Mission, through Captain, afterwards Admiral Robert Deans, lately a Prisoner at Valladolid. The Captain wrote from

London—[June 18]—a polite Letter to Bishop Geddes, whom he had known in his Captivity, expressing his sense of the kindness shown him in the Scotch College at Valladolid, and his esteem for the Bishop's character.

Constitutional temperament has much to do with the genial manners and the kind judgments that attract popularity. The world and your familiar acquaintances will always form their opinion from what they see and feel, rather than from what they know. They know two men to be equal in virtue, in honour, in self-sacrificing labours; yet of the two, he will win most popular regard who, to these excellent qualities, joins a mild and benevolent manner, and a yielding disposition in matters of no importance. While his equal, perhaps his superior, in every sterling quality of excellence, will be measured superficially by his rigid exactness in matters of lesser moment, by his sterner assertion of abstract principle, even perhaps by the lines of his countenance and the tones of his voice. Popularity, again, is often a gift, like many accomplishments, for the qualities which secure it are often beyond the acquisition of persons who would willingly, if they could, make them their own. It will be well to bear these reflections in mind, as we watch the remarkable contrast in popularity exhibited by Bishop Hay and his Coadjutor. For it is impossible to disguise the fact that, as time advanced, a certain acerbity manifested itself in the disposition of the great Bishop which alienated many even of his Clergy, and many of them were excellent and self-denying Missionaries. Severe to himself, and ever striving to reach the high standard of Christian Excellence which he had proposed to his own attainment, Bishop Hay overrated the desire, even the ability, of the average number of good men to reach anything higher than mediocrity in Virtue. And where he found a disposition unlike his own, he was apt to refuse it credit for the lower increase of good which it proposed to itself, and which it conscientiously accomplished. We are now entering on a period of his history in which this peculiar constitution of his mind became more than ever conspicuous, and, as we shall soon see, to the frequent vexation of others and the interruption of his own peace. To his Friend and Coadjutor, who was unquestionably a man of inferior force of char-

acter to himself, was given one of the very rarest of all Christian Gifts, a Gift which more nearly than any other assimilates its possessor to the Divine Giver Himself, —namely, the combination of a personal standard of Excellence as high, with the habit of making gentlest allowance for the inferior attainments of others; the combination of a growing and a successful thirst after sublime Perfection, with tender pity for the erring, and with winning influence over the intractable, with the power of estimating men at their real value, and of appreciating what was good in them, even when imperfectly developed.

The Correspondence at this Period almost weekly evinces the growing aversion to Bishop Hay which had taken possession of the minds of many of his Clergy. Thus, Mr. John Reid, hearing a rumour that the Bishop proposed to make Preshome his Residence—[June 27],—addressed an indignant Remonstrance to Bishop Geddes, deprecating any such plan, and launching into the bitterest invective against Bishop Hay for various alleged foibles and errors. The Bishop, it seems, was much disliked by Protestant Ministers, especially on account of the concluding Chapters of his *Sincere Christian*. As it happened, on the very same day, his old Friend Mr. George Grant, Parish Minister of Rathven, also wrote a calmer, but an equally bitter Letter to Bishop Geddes, inveighing against Bishop Hay, his Bigotry, and the spirit of his recent Controversial Work.

The Bishop's labour on *The Dcroft Christian* was now rapidly approaching completion, and on the 7th July he left Aberdeen on a walking Tour through the Northern portion of his District. We find him at Lecheston, in the Enzie, July 27th, giving Bishop Geddes an account of his Journey. “I had a very agreeable Walk from Aberdeen to this Place; short stages; the longest was only 18 English miles, and none of the others exceeding 12, in the day. I was favoured with most agreeable weather, and think my health much the better for the exercise, which was one view of my mode of travelling. I believe I shall not be fond of any other mode, at least for some time. But what is very surprising, the better my health turns, the more I perceive my memory fails, etc.; *fiat voluntas Dei*.” The Bishop proposed to visit Aberlour, about twenty miles up the Spey, on the following Sunday;

thence he was to go to Shenval and Scalau, where Mr. Polemon (Bishop Macdonald) was to meet him about the Assumption. "Your friends in this country are happy in the hopes of seeing you this summer, and none will be more so than I, who am, M. H. Dear Sir, ever yours in Dno. Dauley."

By the 11th of August, the Bishop had reached Scalau.

A day or two after the Assumption, Bishop Geddes set out from Edinburgh to join the Bishops at Glenlivat. By this time Abate Grant had arrived from Rome on a visit to his relations, and he accompanied the Bishop on his Northern journey. The Agent had a large circle of general acquaintances among the Nobility and Gentry to whom he had shown civility in Rome. The Bishop and he paid a visit at Belmont Castle, the seat of the Lord Privy Seal, who entertained them very cordially, and showed them his gardens and a fine Observatory. Here the Bishop left the Agent, and pursued his journey to Scalau alone. He describes his late travelling Companion as "agreeable enough in company, as he knows everybody of any eminence, has an excellent memory, tells amusing anecdotes, and has always a great flow of spirits. To be sure he has a simplicity that is wonderful in a man who has seen so much of the world."—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Dec. 19.] On his arrival at Scalau, August 22, Bishop Geddes found his Colleagues awaiting his coming. Their Deliberations this year turned a good deal on the unhappy situation of Mr. Thomson, and the prolonged inefficiency of the Scotch College in Rome. Strong Letters were despatched to the Cardinal Protector, and to Propaganda, but with no better success than before. The Bishops now seriously contemplated the extreme measure of sending no more Boys to the College. Bishop Macdonald was able to report an increase of 3000 in the number of Catholics in his District since his last Visitation.

An affecting Incident marked the Bishops' Meeting this Summer. The health of Mr. John Paterson, the Superior of the Seminary, had been failing during the earlier part of the Summer, and it became alarmingly worse about the time of the Bishops' arrival. The first evening that they were all together at supper, he appeared in better spirits than usual, and expressed his great

satisfaction at the arrival of the Bishops, adding, "If I am to die this year, I hope it will be before you go away." He repeated this wish again and again during the following days. On the forenoon of August 28th, being then scarcely able to rise from bed, he had a long and serious Conversation with Bishop Geddes, in which he told the Bishop that he did not expect to live long, and expressed great anxiety for the little Seminary, adding a very earnest wish that the Bishop would at once make arrangements for the renewal of the Lease with the Duke of Gordon, who was then at his Shooting Lodge in Glenfiddich, within an easy ride of Scalau. His wish was at once complied with, and on Bishop Geddes' return next day from the Duke's, he—[August 29]—found that Mr. Paterson had already received the Viaticum and Extreme Unction. He was still quite sensible, and remarkably cheerful and resigned. In the afternoon he fell into a lethargy, and, between ten and eleven at night, he Expired.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Dec. 19.] Mr. Paterson, by his unassuming worth, and by his assiduous discharge of his humble duties, had long possessed the confidence of the Bishops and the regard of his Brethren. Bishop Hay, in communicating the news of his Death to the youth who attended the Bishop on his journey, wrung his hands and exclaimed, "O John, John, we have lost our head."—[Communicated by John Cumming, the youth, to the author.] The Funeral of the simple man took place on the first day of September. He was tall, and the passages and the staircase of the Seminary were too narrow to permit his Coffin to be removed in the ordinary way; it was therefore lowered to the ground through the Window of the Room in which he had died. After the Funeral, the Bishops separated, Bishop Geddes setting out for the Enzie on a visit to his relations and his old friends, and meeting Bishop Hay at Aberdeen, September 16th. Mr. John Farquharson took Mr. Paterson's place at Scalau.

How much Bishop Hay was wronged by his censors, appears in many instances; in none more conspicuously than in the anxiety which he invariably shewed in behalf of really valuable Missionaries, when disabled by sickness or old age. A good example of his paternal solicitude occurs about this date, in a Communication which he

addressed from Aberdeen to the aged Chaplain at Traquair. The Family was then on the eve of breaking up the Establishment, previously to a long residence abroad. Bishop Hay wrote with great kindness, desiring to know how he could serve Mr. Cruikshanks. The aged Priest had promised to see Mr. Geddes and consult with him. "This, however, does not entirely satisfy me, because I wish to have the pleasure myself of showing my affection for you on the present emergency. And therefore I beg you will let me know what would be agreeable to yourself, and what it is in my power to do for you. I do not propose your having any Charge—your state of health and infirmities prevent that; but would you wish to be here with me? I shall make you very welcome. Would you wish to stay with your nieces at Clochin? I shall help to make that easy for you. Only let me know, my dear sir, what would be agreeable to yourself, and be assured that I shall be happy to show my affection and regard for you, as much as I can to your satisfaction."—[B. Hay to Mr. Cruikshanks, October 9.]

After the Meeting at Sealan, Bishop Hay wrote more than once to encourage Mr. Thomson in his difficulties. In one of these Letters he says—"I am sensible your situation is far from comfortable; but encourage yourself, my dear sir, to have patience, and wait God's time. Worthy Bishop Challoner, when any of his pious undertakings met with great opposition and difficulties, was wont to say, 'Well, I am sure it will succeed at last, and is agreeable to God, because such opposition is raised against it.' I hope all will turn out to our wish at last."—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, October 29.] Regarding the Students, the Bishop remarked that although necessity had of late years obliged himself and his Colleagues to call some of them home before their usual time of study was finished, his own opinion was that this was a thing never to be done when it could possibly be avoided.

Bishop Hay appears in the month of October of this year as the donor of a Fund for the supply of the most needy Missions, and which, by inversion of his own Episcopal Title, is often hereafter found in his accounts under the name of the Neilvad (Daulien) Fund. "A Mr. Neilvad having settled some money on the most needy

Missions," he writes—[Oct. 28]—to his Coadjutor, and proceeds to discuss the best mode of distributing it. He professes to be indifferent whether the distribution is made by himself or by Bishop Geddes. "If, after all, they should think themselves obliged to you, I shall be happy in it; it is all one which of us they be attached to, so that good may be got by such attachment. You and I, I hope, shall always act in concert, and whether the good be got from them through their attachment to you or to me, it will be equally agreeable to me. Nay, more so, that it be done through their attachment to you, as I ought to esteem myself most unworthy of being made use of by Alm. God as an instrument of doing any good at all." He mentions incidentally that he had never got a "stick of wood" from the Commissioners for the Building at Stobhall, notwithstanding all their promises.

Early in November, everything was ready for the occupation of the new House in Blackfriars' Wynd—the Chapel was not ready for occupation till the following Summer. The first few days of this month were spent in removing the furniture from the temporary Residence of Bishop Geddes in Dickson's Close, and on the 7th of November he took possession of his new House. Next day he wrote for the first time from it to Bishop Hay, to give him the agreeable news, and to beg him to pray earnestly for a blessing, adding—"I must now think of what I am to say tomorrow (Sunday), having been obliged, contrary to my inclination, to dine with Lord Monboddo, and by that means having in some sense lost the afternoon."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 8.] Two days later Bishop Hay replied—"I sincerely wish you much joy in the new House, and pray God to grant His Blessing to the possession of it." The House was pronounced very commodious, with three good fire-rooms, and as many light-closets, a parlour, and a good kitchen on one floor; and the Chapel, Saeristy, and Library on the floor above, besides a good Garret.—[B. Geddes to Mr. J. Reid, Dec. 10.]

The same Letter which conveyed Bishop Hay's Blessing on the new House, also conveyed several pretty sharp Strictures on his Coadjutor's Accounts. When animadverting on several inaccuracies in these, the Bishop renewes the expression of his fear that his Friend is undertaking more than he can accomplish, begging

him to be more attentive to such matters, and not to trust to his memory in entering items, but to set them down the moment they come to his knowledge. "When I was in your place, I had to answer all the country Calls to Glasgow, Alloa, etc., which I did at my own charges, as I considered the perquisites of Procurator as most properly applied that way. When Mr. Thomson was Procurator he did the same, and for the same reason. Mr. Menzies writes to me that he has lately had some of these calls, which have cost him upward of 30s., a sum he cannot be supposed able to bear. He says he spoke of it to you, and you desired him to write about it to me. For my part, as I consider myself obliged to apply anything I have for the good of Religion, whether I spend it for such, in extraordinaries of this kind, or settle it for a more constant and general good, it is much the same to me. I would, therefore, wish to know from you what your opinion is about this; if you think it just and reasonable that all such extraordinaries should fall upon me. Indeed, if you were in straits the case would not admit of a doubt; but as Providence has provided you abundantly, and I am sure you consider yourself as much bound to apply what you can spare for the good of religion as I do, perhaps the point might be disputable. However, I don't intend to dispute, but just wish to have your opinion, which will have considerable weight in regulating my conduct as to this matter. I am very tired with these long Letters, and must conclude."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 10.]

The meek spirit of his Coadjutor was wounded by this sarcastic Letter of the Bishop. Together with his Reply, he sent the Letter itself back to Aberdeen, that Bishop Hay might compare one with the other. The result is preserved in his Answer, November 19; in which also, with characteristic openness, he retracts an expression of too easy concurrence in a suspicion entertained of one of his Clergy, that he had procured his own removal from a laborious Mission, by feigning indisposition.

"M. H. and Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for sending back my last to you, concerning our accounts, as it gave me an opportunity of reviewing what I had written, and comparing it with your strictures upon it. I have done so again and again, with all attention; yet, after

all, (so much is one apt to be deceived by his own heart,) I own I do not think I said anything in that Letter which could reasonably give you so much displeasure as it seems to have done; but I see clearly from this, as well as from some former instances, how delicate a matter it is to seem to find fault, or venture to give advice even, to good men; and I might have left this in silence, as I did those former matters, only that at present it seems expedient to say a few things to prevent any future misunderstandings about these matters. . . . I must beg your pardon for what I added in my last, in answer to your question about the *maladie imaginaria* of a certain person. My Letter was scarce gone when I reflected with very deep regret on what I there said. It was quite unnecessary and most improper to communicate to any person any opinion of mine of such a nature. I am sensible how little I can trust to my opinions in such cases, and how dangerous it is to entertain them, much more to communicate them to others. It therefore gives me pleasure to find that you do not coincide with what I there said. Continue, I entreat you, to believe me misled in that matter; and I shall do my utmost to persuade myself of the same. . . . In accidental, or rather occasional misunderstandings between Friends, such as what has just now happened between us, it is not to be wondered that some expressions should drop unguardedly that may justly be taken amiss, and others that may be taken amiss where not the smallest reflection was intended; but in either case, it is surely becoming the party who gives the occasion, to endeavour to reconsolidate matters. In your last you say that in stating *The Sincere Christian* to my Cash Account, you 'never did it with the thought of appropriating one farthing of the price of it to yourself.' That I declare *coram Deo*, I most sincerely believe; but you add that 'You did not imagine I could have suspected it.' No, my dear Friend, I never did; but this expression shews that I must have said something in one of my Letters to you which gave you grounds to think I did so. I therefore, with bended knees, ask your pardon for any such expression as may be in my Letters to you, and declare to you that I never entertained such an idea. Indeed, if I thought I had the smallest grounds to entertain such a thought of you, I should bid farewell to all confidence in any mortal for ever.

"But now, my dear Sir, I must disclose to you another affair, the substance of which has been often borne in upon my mind for some time past, under the view of its being agreeable to God; but as it is at the same time a little restraint upon self-love, I am afraid my heart has, on that account hitherto given too little ear to it, and perhaps might have quenched it entirely had not this present difference served as a means to revive it, and I am much inclined to believe that our good Lord has permitted this present differ-

cue on purpose to bring me to conclude it. It is a thing which will give you the most convincing proof in my power, of the entire confidence I repose in you; it will rather diminish than increase your labour; it will effectually put a stop to all possible misunderstandings between us, or mistakes about money matters; and if the thought be from God, as I am much inclined to believe, it may prove of very great service to my soul. It is to keep no more accounts with you at all, but to settle upon an annual sum to be given me, such as may be thought sufficient for my personal needs, and private charities, and to leave all the rest of what is considered as mine in your hands to be applied for the ends we both have in view, as you shall judge proper, or as shall be concerted between us, without giving me any further account of the matter. To explain myself more fully: I always consider myself as bound in conscience to use the money God has put into my hands, as much as possible for His Glory and the good of Religion. This may be done three ways: 1st. By providing for future exigencies. 2d. By supplying present needs. 3d. By doing both at once. In this last view Neilvad's settlement met with your entire approbation. But there are many other present accidental needs which certainly must not be neglected, so far as there are means to supply them, such as journeys to Glasgow, &c. As I observed to you in my last, it is perfectly the same to me whether my money be applied to one or other of these three ways. Now at present, and as long as S—— G—— remains, I think that £20 a-year from you would be sufficient for my personal needs and private charities. What I wish to do, then, is to begin with that sum of £20, to be paid at our two Aberdeen terms, £10 each term: that all the rest should lie in your hands, to be applied by you for making an addition to Neilvad's Fund, whenever the balance in your hand should amount to £100, which might well be once a-year, and that out of the rest, you pay any public burdens of Boys, Postages, &c., and any little accidental thing I may call for, and at the same time supply every other exigency of Religion, where you may judge proper, without being obliged to have recourse to ask my opinion, or to give me any account of how it is expended; so that, if after some time, or years, it be found advisable to alter this plan, I take your balance as it then lies, without examining one article of your books how it came to be so. This is the general outline of the proposal; and if you agree to it, as I hope you will, and earnestly entreat you may, I shall afterwards come to some other particulars concerning it. I must now say a word on other matters. . . . I ever remain with most sincere regard, M. H. and Dear Sir, ever yours in Dno. Dauley.

"Aberdeen, 19th Nov., 1783."

Bishop Hay had one or two "poor relations" residing at Airdrie, in Lanarkshire, who used sometimes to apply to him for assistance, while his house was in Edinburgh. Since he had removed to Aberdeen, they had made application to Bishop Geddes for similar relief, and with success. Bishop Hay, it seems, had sometimes assisted his Coadjutor's humble relations in Bantfshire, and the kindness shown to his own friends at Airdrie was only a reciprocation of good offices. Nevertheless, he more than once requested Bishop Geddes not to entertain such applications, both because he found that he had already been imposed upon by persons simulating a relationship which did not exist, and also because he did not wish his West country relations to imagine that he was rich; a notion which might prove troublesome after his death. Yet, if Bishop Geddes would still give, Bishop Hay begged that it might be out of his own, and not out of his Coadjutor's private funds. Any assistance that he had been of to Bishop Geddes' relations was not "*a pari*, they were *domestici filii*, they were my own people, and had a right to what help I could procure for them, though they had not belonged to you; and what I did was not out of my own pocket, but from the benevolence of others; all which circumstances are wanting in your proposal of giving your own money to my relations."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 22.]

The little plan meditated by Bishop Hay, of consigning all his Accounts to his Coadjutor, Bishop Geddes was compelled to decline, from pressure of other business. "You may be well assured that my declining your proposal at present does not arise from any want of will to serve you, but from a reluctance to take too much upon me. You must wait until there be—[Mr. D. Stewart had been removed to Strathaven]—another Missionary with me, and I be more expert in our affairs. Were you in my place, would you not decline it as I do? I am persuaded you would. But you may, I trust in God, depend upon having always in me one who shall be willing to serve you to the utmost of my power. I am, with all respect and affection, M. H. D. S., your own—JOHN GEDDES.—[Dec. 3. This was a common conclusion of B. Geddes' Letters to his Friend, after his return from Spain.]

The recent removal of the Missionary from Stobhall had deprived Bishop Hay of the assistance of Mr. Paul Macpherson, who had now assumed the charge of that vacant Mission. The Bishop was, therefore, once more engaged in the routine of a simple Parish Priest; a duty which he at once undertook as a matter of course. His time and his labour, like his money, were always at the ready service of Religion, whether in temporary, or in more permanent employment. This year closes upon him, as he was preparing his little Flock at Aberdeen for their Christmas duties.

The Mission was this year deprived of the services of Mr. Oliver, who retired to the Continent, and assumed the direction of a Convent of English Nuns at Bruges.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

1784—1785.

Death of President at Douay—B. Hay's Journies on Foot—Death of Abate Grant at Rome—Accident to B. Hay at Aberlour—Dispute with Scotch College at Paris—Early history of that College—The Inneses—Principal Gordon's Libel on B. Hay.

The health of Mr. Robert Grant, Superior of the Scotch College at Douay, had been failing for some years, and his Medical advisers now urged him to consult the Physicians in London. His brother also, the Abate, who had left England to spend the winter at Douay, concurring in this advice, the Invalid came to London to try what could be done for him there. It was in vain, however; and after receiving the Sacraments of the dying in a very pious manner, he resigned his spirit to God, March 29th, in the house of Dr. Alexander Geddes,—[Dr. A. Geddes to B. Geddes, March 29]—and in the arms of the Abate. His loss was much and justly regretted. With piety, integrity, and strong good sense, he combined the manners of a polished gentleman, to which the success of his negotiations for the recovery of the College at Douay must in great measure be ascribed. As a Superior he was popular, and he never permitted his personal interest in the College to interfere with the general good of the Missions. It may be supposed that the place of such a man was not easily to be supplied without the sacrifice of a valuable

Missionary. The Bishops, having already more than enough to do to provide for the Spiritual wants of the Missions, were very desirous that the Trustees and Managers of Douay should elect Mr. Young, the Prefect—a valuable man, and perfectly familiar with the direction of the Seminary. Bishop Hay, in discussing the matter with his Coadjutor, strongly advocated the appointment of Mr. Young, from his long experience of his worth, and added—"I am very sensible my penetration in knowing people's dispositions and qualifications soon, is far inferior to yours; but a longer experience with particular persons may supply that deficiency, and even enable one to form their judgment on a more solid bottom."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, February 5.]

Mr. Young's objections to taking office were insuperable. Dr. Alexander Geddes would very willingly have accepted the office, and Abate Grant warmly supported his interest with the Electors; but the Scottish Bishops, for obvious reasons, could not concur in such a choice. By the skilful management of Mr. Young, the Election fell on Mr. John Farquharson, the Superior of Scalab. It cost Bishop Hay some regret to part with him, as appears from the following Letter:—

"21st May, 1784.  
". . . "I cannot help regretting to see such a general disposition in our friends to sacrifice the present crying necessities of the Mission and Missionaries to promote the good of 'Shops.' The only way I can account for it is from an observation made by you some time ago, when I put it in your own hands to dispense with Proclamation of Marriages where you judged proper; you wrote me on that occasion that you found it a very different case to have your own conscience burdened with the obligation of answering to God for such Dispensations, and to have another between you and that obligation. When it shall please God that you step into my place, and shall have to answer immediately to God for the souls of our poor people that shall then be immediately committed to your charge, you will find it then a very different case to send away your best Hands, and leave these poor souls to the imminent danger of ruin and seduction, even from the plausible prospect of providing for futurity, from what you seem to do at present. I feel it, my dear Friend, and I feel it in the most sensible manner. I feel the weighty obligations I lie under of providing for the souls who are at present committed to my charge; but I cannot see how the necessity of providing

for those who are yet unborn (however great it may be, and great it certainly is), can lay me under an obligation of doing what must be evidently ruinous for many of those for whom I am at present accountable. In the present case of Douay, it is hard that we should be obliged to provide for the whole. Mr. Polemon certainly ought to bear his share, and had Mr. Young accepted, I should certainly have made a point of it with him to send a Prefect, which I immediately proposed to him on hearing of Mr. Grant's death, as I wrote you. And for these reasons some expressions of yours on this subject were rather hard upon me. But enough of this: that case is now no more. Mr. Young absolutely refuses, and Mr. Farquharson must be sent. But what is to be done at home? I see no other way of supplying Sealan but by what Mr. Thomson proposes, by putting Saundy Farquharson there. This then, unless you propose something better, I have resolved upon; but in this case, Mr. McGillivray cannot leave his place for next winter. I never can in conscience sacrifice so large a Mission, which contains upwards of 800 souls, to supply a small handful elsewhere; so you must see either to persuade Mr. George Maxwell to remain another year at Kirkeonnel, or that place must be content with what assistance Mr. Pepper can give them. Indeed, till the late settlement was made by Mr. Constable for Terregles, one Missionary served all that Country, and what has been may be again till we be able to provide them better. But what is to become of Buchan? Here I see no medium but either to go there myself, or send Mr. Cameron there, and continue here alone as before." . . .

The vacancy occasioned in the little Seminary at Sealan was supplied by Mr. Alexander Farquharson, who had lately arrived from Rome.

Bishop Hay continued to oppose the growing desire for announcement of a general Dispensation at the beginning of Lent—a practice which had by this time become recognised among the Catholics of England. The Missionaries were authorised to dispense in private, as they found it necessary. "Whoever knows and considers," says Bishop Hay,—"To B. Geddes, Feb. 19"—"the very wide difference between our situation and the Catholics in England, can never have a reason to complain of our being unreasonably rigorous in refusing general Dispensations." He adds that he has no objections to send "the boy Carruthers"—[afterwards Bp. Carruthers]—to Douay—our first notice of the late Vicar Apostolic in the Eastern District.

Bishop Geddes, although less opposed to a general Dispensation, did not dispute the deter-

mination of his Friend. On the same day (Feb. 19) he exchanged opinions with Bishop Hay on the subject.

"Feb. 19th, 1784.

. . . "I own there is, as usual in such cases, something to be said on both sides; but I think the arguments for not granting the general Dispensation are the mightiest; and besides, for many reasons, I should certainly join you in sentiments as much as I can, on such matters especially. The principal objection to the refusal of a general Dispensation is the example of England. Do not the English Bishops know their duty as well as we? Are not the reasons here as great as there? Are they to be condemned? It is also said by some, that if ever in any country general Dispensations are given, they should be given here in such years as these. And if it be sufficient to refer the matter to the inferior Pastors here at present, the same would be sufficient in all cases, and no general Dispensations should be ever granted anywhere, which would condemn some of the most learned and most pious Bishops and Popes. Finally, our Missionaries complain of the trouble of being obliged to examine into the particular circumstances, and to be in danger of granting or refusing the leave, improperly, and of seeming to differ among themselves, one being more, another less indulgent or rigorous, with discontent and dissatisfaction among the people; all which inconveniences would be removed by a general Dispensation, and it is to remove them and to keep uniformity, that such Dispensations are granted in Catholic Countries in bad years, even though such inconveniences are much less there than here, where the profession of our Religion should be made as easy as we can with safety, considering the many hardships our people have unfairly to undergo. These are the most plausible arguments I have heard for general Dispensations. But still I think they tend too much to weaken Discipline, and we may do this year as we did last year!" . . .

Bishop Hay replied—"Our Friends in London complain of having a very hard Lent this year. Would you guess the reason? Because, though they are allowed Flesh three days in the week, yet on Tuesdays and Thursdays they are not allowed to take it to Collation, but only to Dinner. See, my dear Sir, what general Dispensations lead to."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, March 1.]

The Bishop's conscientious sense of duty appears in nothing more strongly than in his habitual disinclination to grant Dispensations, and in the careful provision for the vindication of the Law, even when he felt at liberty to relax its rigour. Thus, in reply to an application

from Mr. J. Reid at Preshome, Bishop Hay remarks that though averse to grant Dispensations where it can be avoided, yet the present case of a mixed Marriage appears to him a just ground of exception. He at the same time bids Mr. Reid explain to his Congregation the reason of this Indulgence, namely, that the woman was poor, and depended on her own exertions for a maintenance. He stipulates also that the Protestant husband must promise to give her no disturbance in the exercise of her Religion, and to let her have the children, or at least the daughters, if he can be induced to do so.

It was long remembered as a characteristic of this faithful Shepherd, that he was always more easily disposed to grant a Dispensation to the poor than to the rich. An Anecdote, illustrating this Apostolic principle of the Bishop's method of government, has been communicated to the Author by a Lady, now deceased, daughter of one of the Bishop's intimate friends. This gentleman resided at his Family-Seat in Galloway. His Chaplain, an aged Ex-Jesuit, desired a Dispensation from Abstinence. The Bishop's friend accordingly made application for it, on the ground of the old Priest's age and infirmities, and the scarcity of Fish and other Abstinence-Food in that Neighbourhood; and to his petition for the Priest he added a request on his own account for a similar Indulgence for himself and his family. This gentleman was a stout, hale man; and in reply the Bishop at once conceded what had been asked on behalf of the poor old Priest, but added, that he knew no one more likely than his friend to derive benefit from occasional Fasting and Abstinence."—[Mrs. G. Scott, 1853.]

Mr. Alexander Duguid, an Ex-Jesuit Priest, who had long served the Mission in Buchan, a District of Country in the North of Aberdeenshire, had become paralytic, and had retired to Pitfoddels to end his days, the Charge of his vacant Mission was therefore added to Bishop Hay's other Pastoral duties in Aberdeen. On the 1st of March he had a call to Buchan to Baptize a child, which occupied him three days, and imposed upon him a long and fatiguing journey, twenty-one miles of which he had to travel on foot, where a horse could not carry him on account of the deep fall of snow. "I must lay my account," he writes to his Coadjutor, the day after his

return home, "with calls of this kind for some time, as there is none between Deveron and Dee that can answer any but myself. However, I have reason to bless God that I am not a bit the worse of the late journey." It was necessary, owing to the want of Priests at Aberdeen, that the Holy Oils should be Blessed this year at Edinburgh.

Peter Hay, a student not long since returned from Paris in infirm health, had lately died. In digging a grave for him in the little Churchyard of St. Ninian's, they had come upon the Coffin of Mr. Godsman. Curiosity and old affection prompted the bystanders to open it. The body of their late beloved Pastor was found to have suffered little change, after lying fifteen years in the Grave. The news quickly spread through the Enzie, and many hastened to look once more on his revered Countenance. The late Bishop Scott, whose father's house at Chapelford was scarcely further than a stone's throw from the spot, was among the crowd. He was then about twelve years of age. The Author has more than once heard him relate the circumstances of this singular Exhumation. Mr. Matthison, from the neighbouring hamlet of Achenhalrig, hastened to the spot to examine the Remains of his Predecessor. It was nearly dark, in a winter's afternoon, and it became necessary to use a lighted branch of pine, called in that District a "Fire-Candle," in the examination. Mr. Matthison found the Body in a remarkable state of preservation; he thought he remembered the form of the nose. The only sign of corruption appeared to be the detachment of the lower jaw, which had fallen upon the breast. The flesh was soft, and of a dark colour. The Coffin was entire, but the linen and the chips of wood within it were all consumed. It was the opinion of most persons, that this preservation of the Body was due to the dryness of the soil in the Churchyard of St. Ninian's,—[Mr. Matthison to B. Geddes, March 28]—an opinion which was completely confirmed a few years later, when the Body was found to be going to decay. Bishop Geddes, indeed, seems fondly to have hoped that it had been the will of God thus to testify his approbation of his faithful Servant, and suggested that a more formal examination of particulars should be made, being well aware of the necessity for extreme caution in such matters.—[B. Geddes

to B. Hay, March 27.] Bishop Hay reserved his opinion till his next visit to the Enzie, when he would inquire into all the particulars.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, April 1.] As nothing further came of it, it is to be inferred that he considered the whole occurrence as a natural one. But in a simple, rustic Population, it is easily to be supposed that it must have excited a good deal of interest and of wonder, especially when viewed in connection with the local traditions of Mr. Godsmans Apostolic Piety.

Those who are accustomed to the advantages of Gas-light during the long nights of Winter, may be interested in a rehearsal of the history of the humble substitutes for that brilliant illuminator which have been in use in the Highlands of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire during the last half-century. The introduction of improved artificial lights into the cottages of the poorer inhabitants of the hillsides and glens has, however, taken place within that period, and each successive improvement in the style of lamp and light has been the harbinger of increased social comfort and means of rational and intellectual amusement. Fifty years ago, in the Highland glens of Banffshire, no light was used in the cottages, or even well-to-do farmers' houses, except the Peat fire, which blazed cheerily on the open hearthstone, and was usually surrounded by a happy circle of the domestics. By the scanty light of the Peat fire the female members of the family would knit, spin, or tease woo'; but there could have been no place for the studiously inclined to pore over a book, for the rollicking mirth.

Even then, however, a home-made dip-tallow candle might have appeared on the room-table at a Yule Feast, a Wedding, a Baptism, or such like great occasion. By and bye, steps were taken to have a more effective light for the Winter evenings than the Peat fire. Roots of Fir trees were, during Summer, dug from the deep Peat bogs in the mountains. These roots were the remains of the great ancient Caledonian Forest, and were found buried several feet under the surface of the morass. They were split up and dried, and carefully reserved for use during the darkness of Winter. When used, they were burned on an old spade, or any piece of metal stuck on to the Goodman's corner of the hearth. This was a mark of respect to the head of the

house, who generally took the trouble of superintending the feeding of the small blaze with fresh chips. This mode of lighting the house was a very great improvement on the Peat fire, and gave better opportunity for various household occupations.

Some time previous to 1820, the "Fir Candle" came pretty generally into use in these upland Districts, and those who were "Herd Laddies" at that time will doubtless remember the awful Serfdom to which they were condemned when darkness set in. It was a stipulated bargain in the engagement of the "Herd Laddie" that he should "hand the Candle" till bed-time. About 1825, the "Herd" was relieved from all these troubles by the ingenuity of some canny blacksmith. Necessity was certainly the mother of the invention of what he denominated the "Puir Man." This was nothing more nor less than an invention to supersede the necessity for a candle holder in the household of the poor man, who could ill afford the luxury. It was in the form of a cleft piece of iron, with a little spring in it. This was stuck into the top of a stick about three feet long, which was fixed into a block of wood, and stood in the midst of the clay floor of the kitchen. This instrument held the Candle, and by replacing new Splinters, and a little superintendence, it answered remarkably well, affording the "herd loon" relief and a better position in the family. While this form of stand was in use, the light was further improved by shreds of cotton being dipped in tallow, and twisted as the tallow cooled. These were placed in the "Puir Man," and on the whole it was thought a pretty successful contrivance.

The simple inhabitants of the Highlands were content with this form of light for many years. Gradually, however, the old-fashioned "Reeky Peter" lamp, which was in use in the houses of the wealthier inhabitants so far back as we can remember, came to be used in the houses of the smaller farmers and cottars. This *only* *idol* was the lamp with two shells, one shell acting as a receiver of the drip from the shell in which the wick was placed. This form of lamp is still in use in many humble households in the Highlands, by those who look upon Naphtha, &c., as dangerous combustibles. The "Cruisy" kept its place till about 1835, when brighter

nights were enjoyed by our Highland Population. Naphtha and the Naphtha Lamps were then brought into use, and in their earliest form they have a place amongst us to this day. It was a great advance in the volume of light it afforded over all other lights used at the time of its introduction. Like many good things, it was, however, and still is, a dangerous Mineral if carelessly managed.

In the remote regions of the Highlands, the various improvements in the lamps have been adopted, principally those of Young, and latterly those of Rowell of Edinburgh. These Lamps are now one of the greatest blessings of the age in the way of a domestic comfort. Paraffin makes a safe, cheap, and brilliant light. The effect of the introduction of these lamps into our Highland Districts has considerably altered the aspect of the Country on a dark night. In looking over the same Valley as recently as forty years ago, the eye could with difficulty have distinguished the dull flitting shade of the Peat Fire occasionally at a few windows. The succeeding changes in the style of light used in these rural Districts are an indication of a gradual increase in the comforts and resources of enjoyment which have come within the reach of the population generally.

Bishop Hay, March 28, informed his Coadjutor that he had no money, at that time, for the purchase of Books for his own Library. Within the two years previous, he had met with a rebuff in his wishes to purchase such Books, and make a little Library; a reason for his inclination that way having much cooled. He had more Books than he should himself ever have occasion for; and those who were to come after him might provide for themselves. "I never doubted of your having plenty, and more than plenty to do, in your present situation, though you seemed always unwilling to receive any sympathy from me on that account, but rather made light of it. I see, however, you are now fully sensible of it, and only wish that from your own experience, you would pass a thought on the necessity of having our various Stations supplied, as well as our Shops, (Colleges,) for if that Place which has always been supplied somehow or other, yet stands so much in need of all the helps you can give it, what must become of those Places which are left destitute?"

We have already, on more occasions than one, observed the Bishop's careful method in laying down his future route on his Journeys. Another excellent illustration of this his uniform habit, occurred at this time. In anticipation of another pedestrian Tour through the Northern part of his Diocese, to give the People in several Missions an opportunity for their Easter duties, he wrote to Bishop Geddes that on that day seenight,—[April 8]—he should set off, God willing. On Low Sunday,—[April 18,]—he should be at Allenchriars; on the Second Sunday after Easter, at Strichen; on the Third at Bythe; on the following Monday, he should be in the Enzie, where he was to remain till at least the Monday following. On that day, or the next, he was to go by Auchentoul to Fetternear, where he would probably remain till the Ascension.

A Month later, on the day,—[May 9]—that he had previously fixed for leaving the Enzie, he wrote from Liches-ton, which is in the centre of that District of Country, to inform Bishop Geddes that he had lately been continually either in motion, or in active employment. "I have kept my plan to a day, and had a very agreeable Journey." He had found his poor sister suffering from a very painful dislocation of her wrist, which a country Surgeon had so mismanaged as to render it impossible that she should ever recover the perfect use of her hand. The Bishop added that, on the afternoon of that day, he was going to Letterfour, and next morning, should set off on the rest of his Journey. One or two interesting particulars of this Visit are supplied by Mrs Gordon, the Lady of Liches-ton.—[To B. Geddes, May 10]—"Our worthy friend, Mr Hay, came to this Country, last night to see his sister. He has a most fatiguing Journey; I did not hear him complain. We had very little of his company; his time in this Corner was so short. He was here on Saturday evening, when he fell in with the Duchess of Gordon; [the celebrated Duchess Jane] she seemed desirous of seeing Mr Hay, and bade him very politely to Gordon Castle; but he excused himself, being circumscribed in point of time. Then, she said, next time he should be in this Country." . . . We know that he subsequently accepted this invitation, and on one occasion, when he had gone with the

intention of remaining only one night, he was prevailed upon to prolong his Visit till the third or fourth day.—[Testimony of John Cumming, who accompanied him.] He was then, however, residing at Sealan, within a day's ride of Gordon Castle, and this Visit was probably not one of a series; so that the plans of others were not discouraged by a change in the Bishop's own.

Mr Burke passed through Edinburgh, in the first week in April; Bishop Geddes waited upon him, and received a hearty welcome. The Statesman asked, with much kindness, after Bishop Hay, and desired that his most respectful Compliments might be sent to him. Next day, he returned Bishop Geddes's visit; but the Bishop happened then to be in the Chapel, on the opposite side of the Wynd, and so missed him.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, April 12.]

Bishop Hay's walking Missionary tour, was finished in about five weeks.—[May 19.]—“I made out my Journey,” he writes to his Coadjutor, “most agreeably. The weather was not the best, at least, for the first three weeks; but I had always the good fortune to get good days to travel in; had easy stages, and good quarters, and kept my health, thank God, very well. I was much less wearied than if I had been riding. . . . Please with my best wishes tell Mrs Arbuthnot that I was at Bythe the Sunday before Mrs Mary Urquhart died; and seeing her in a dying way, gave her all the Sacraments before I left her. She died two days after.”

It required very little to excite Mr John Reid's malice and invective against Bishop Hay, whom he said, that some, probably meaning himself, called the “Mitred Duenna.” He found occasional relief for his spleen, by writing to Bishop Geddes, who was the Confidant of every one; or as the Scottish phrase emphatically expresses it, “Everybody's body.” “Had you seen him travelling about on foot, from one country to another, wrapt up in his Highland plaid, with a Highland boy behind him, carrying a Knapsack, I am certain that you would not have kept from smiling. Everybody here, even his best friends, seem to agree in thinking that he looked much liker a Thief than a Bishop.”—[Mr. J. Reid to B. Geddes, May 28.]

Bishop Hay spent Corpus Christi, at Pitfodels, and the following Sunday at Fetternear, supply-

ing in both places the want of a permanent Missionary, as also at Coneraig, on his way back to Aberdeen. Corpus Christi (June 10) was also the Day in which Bishop Geddes and his Congregation took quiet possession of their new Chapel of St. Margaret, in Blackfriars' Wynd.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, June 14.] It had cost a good deal, but the Seat Rents were calculated to yield double the usual interest on the money laid out on it; and they were paid up for the first half-year, all but a few shillings, in less than two hours on the first day fixed for letting them.—[Same to Same, July 3.]

The time was now approaching for the Bishops' Meeting at Sealan; and owing to the scarcity of Missionaries, it was necessary that Bishop Hay should combine another Tour through Buchan, with his Journey to the Seminary. As his memory was so much weakened, that he was sometimes at a loss to recollect the particulars of the Mission Funds, and their history, he requested his Coadjutor to bring with him to the meeting, the little book in which the History of those Funds had been written by the Bishop. To complicate still further, the destination of Priests, and the consequent plans of the Bishop to supply the deficiency, Mr. William Guthrie had lately injured his remaining leg by a fall, which had disabled him. Bishop Hay sent his Coadjutor Mr. Guthrie's Letter, “Containing a new affliction which our Good Lord is pleased to Lay upon us; may His blessed will be done!” He was just setting out on his circuitous Route towards Sealan. The Sunday following (July 11), he proposed to spend at Allenchriar; thence, through some intermediate Stations, to Bythe, for the Sunday after; and in the following week, he would visit Turriff, Auchentoul, and Mortlach, where Mr. Guthrie was; and so reach Sealan before the 25th of July, where he hoped to meet Bishop McDonald, and Bishop Geddes. “May our Good Lord grant you a prosperous Journey.”—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, July 6.]

In their annual Letters to Rome (August 6), the Bishops insisted very strongly on the urgent necessities of the Scotch College, from which nothing could relieve it, but the appointment of a National Rector. Bishop Hay informed Antonelli that two weeks out of every six, he was obliged to spend in making a circuit of forty

miles among the Catholics of a District without a Pastor. The Bishop also wrote a joint Letter of direction and encouragement to Mr Thomson, under the difficulties and trials of his unhappy position. Indeed, if generous sympathy could compensate to Mr. Thomson for the total failure of his Mission, he received abundance of that, from his Friends at home. Bishop Hay frequently communicated with him, at one time, saying "God bless you, my dear Friend; Pray for me, as I daily do for you."—[Feb. 21, 1784.] Bishop Geddes was his constant Correspondent; and with Mr. Cameron, at Valladolid, Mr. Thomson not unfrequently exchanged Letters. His pecuniary affairs, as we have seen, had been a little improved by the temporary absence of the Agent; the death of that old Servant of the Mission, this Autumn, still further relieved his Coadjutor and Successor from this pressure of Poverty. The Abate Grant had received a severe shock in the death of his Brother, last Spring. Soon after the sad event, he returned to Douay, on his way back to Rome. He proposed to himself the solace of spending a few days in company with Principal Gordon at Paris; but to his surprise and mortification, was peremptorily forbidden by that eccentric person to approach the Scotch College. No reason seemed to exist for such a rebuff; the College had in former years been much indebted to the Abate, for his uniform defence of it against its enemies and traducers; and owing to his distant residence in Rome, he had not been implicated in any of the recent disputes between the Principal and the Scottish Bishops. It seems to have been attributed at the time to an aberration of Mind, on the part of Mr Gordon.—[Macpherson's Hist. of Mission, anno 1784.]

Abate Grant, therefore, continued his Journey to Italy. He reached Rome in an enfeebled state, and instead of giving himself perfect rest after his long Journey, he at once began to visit about among his numerous friends. This imprudence soon resulted in Dysentery and Inflammation, which in three weeks carried him off, in the 74th Year of his Age.—[September 1.] During the greater part of the time, he was either delirious or insensible; but a few lucid intervals were well employed in receiving the Sacraments, and in preparing for death. He left nothing to the Mission, having in fact noth-

ing to leave, except his handsome Gold Snuff-box, which he bequeathed to Bishop Geddes. Count Gastaldi was his Executor.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Hay, Sept. 4. B. Hay to B. Geddes, Sept 27.]—He was Buried in the Parish Church of the Piazza Navona; and a mural Monument in Marble was erected to his Memory in the Church of the Scotch College, by his intimate friends, the Earl of Bute, and his Lordship's Brother, James Stewart Mackenzie, the Lord Privy Seal for Scotland.—[Macpherson's Hist. of Mission.] The popular talent which had made the Abate so much of a favourite with the English Visitors to Rome, during the long period of Forty-five years, in which he had resided there, had deprived his character of some dignity, and had diminished his influence as the representative of the Scottish Clergy. Yet in those days it was not entirely without its advantage to the poor Catholics of Britain, that the English Nobility should carry with them from Rome an agreeable recollection of a Scottish Catholic Priest. He was an honourable man, and enjoyed the regard of the Scottish Bishops. He had stood so high in the favour of Clement XIV., that he would probably have been made a Cardinal, if that Pontiff had lived. Honour, then, to the memory of any man who has discharged the duties of his Office faithfully, and with credit, for nearly half-a-century, and who dies at his post. Mr. Thomson now entered on the duties of Agent for the Scottish Mission, and through the influence of Cardinal York, he succeeded also to the emoluments of the Office, amounting to ten crowns in the month; a sum, which, although small, yet when added to his board and lodging, already provided for him in the Scotch College, relieved him from the exigencies of actual poverty.

On his way back from Scalani to Aberdeen, Bishop Hay had taken a circuitous route by Aberlour, on the Spey; a Catholic house where he was a frequent visitor. On this occasion, however, his visit was interrupted by a serious accident. It seemed at first only a common fall down stairs; but months afterwards he complained of a deep-seated pain in his side, which made writing very uneasy to him, and obliged him for a while to renounce all composition.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, March 2, 1785.] Some of his Letters at this time were written

for him by Mr. James Cameron, who had come to Aberdeen to assist him. The Bishop's fatiguing Journeys to Buchan were also no longer necessary, as that Mission was now provided with a resident Priest, by the return of Mr. James Robertson, O.S.B., from his Monastery at Ratisbon.

Bishop Geddes, after parting with his Friend at Aberdeen, paid a visit at Monbodlo, in company with Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels. He also visited the Church of St. Palladius at Fordun, in Kincardineshire. "It is a very romantic venerable place," he writes to Bishop Hay, "and the sight of it raised in my mind many serious reflections."—[Sept. 13.]

The attention shown by the Cardinal of York to Mr. Thomson, on the death of the late Agent, called forth a Letter of thanks from Bishop Hay, in the following terms:—

October 15, 1784.

Most Emt. R. H.—Since the Letter which I had the honour to write to your R. H., conjunctly with my two Colleagues, in August last, I have been informed by Mr. Thomson of your singular kindness to him in the effectual support you was so good as give him in his application to the Dataria for the Pension the late Abbé Grant had from thence; and I think it my Duty to testify to your R. H., the grateful sense I have of this favour, and to return you my hearty thanks, both in my own name, and in the name of all our Body; as any act of kindness done to one, we must consider as redounding to us all. In the present situation our affairs are in, in that Capital, particularly regarding the poor College which has for so many years been the chief support of Religion in this Country, it is no small comfort that your R. H. shows such concern for our good, in the person of Mr. Thomson, and I flatter myself your goodness will no less effectually favour us with your protection in the affair we took the liberty to recommend to you in our common Letter concerning the College, nor can we doubt, under such protection, of seeing that House once more restored to its former splendour, and become once more of equal or even of greater utility than before, to these Missions. Most earnestly praying God to reward your R. H. with His choicest blessings, for all your pious and charitable actions, I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, M. F. R. H., your R. H.'s most obedient and most humble servant, Geo. B. of Daulis, V. A. in S.—.

The Bishop was probably not aware that it was through an intrigue of the Cardinal Dulu that the unhappy College, soon after the sup-

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pression of the Jesuits, had been deprived of an excellent Rector, against whom nothing could be objected, but that he was personally disagreeable to his Eminence of York.

The gentle charity of Bishop Geddes was, at this time, rewarded by the conversion of a penitent Apostate. Mr. Austin Jennison, formerly a Member of the Society of Jesus, and Chaplain to a Noble Family in the South of England, had, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Leith, become notorious as a popular preacher, in connection with the Episcopalian Body. But the Grace of God, aided by the mild counsels of Bishop Geddes, disposed the heart of the poor man to penitence and reformation. He abandoned a lucrative charge, renounced the society of his wife, a Lady of Family, and of their three children, for all of whom ample provision was made; and with the concurrence of Bishop Talbot of London, Mr. Jennison retired to the College of St. Omar's, where he employed his talent as Professor of the Sciences, till the Revolution of 1793, and died abroad, the following year.—[Macpherson's Hist. of Mission, anno 1784. Dr. Oliver's notice of him in the "Collections S. J." is, as usual, inaccurate in several particulars.]

Bishop Geddes was, at this time, at the very height of his popularity and influence among the polite and learned society of Edinburgh. His Correspondence also embraced many distinguished persons, to whom his merit had become known chiefly through the Antiquarian Society, which was then in process of foundation, and in which the Bishop took an active part. Among the voluminous Archives at Preshome, there is preserved a long Letter of compliment, addressed to him by the celebrated Jane, Duchess of Gordon.

Bishop Hay, on the contrary, was gradually awaking to the certain knowledge that several of his Clergy, not a few among the Laity, and the great majority of Protestants in his District regarded him as tyrannical, despotic, and moreover, as weak in the head. Mr. John Reid, Mr. James Cameron, and others in Scotland, and Dr. Alexander Geddes in London, frequently wrote to one another, and even to Bishop Geddes, letters filled with satire and malevolence against Bishop Hay. The whole of the odium which Mr. Jennison's desertion of his family had excited

among his Protestant friends—and it was not small, was thrown on the much endearing Bishop, although the whole arrangement had been made by his Coadjutor and by Bishop Talbot. “But there is no helping the comments people will make,” as he remarked to Bishop Geddes. “I am so well accustomed to them, that nothing that way surprises me.”—[January 22, 1785.]

Bishop Geddes’s nephew, Mr. John Gordon, had returned from Valladolid somewhat prematurely. By Bishop Hay’s directions, his uncle finished his preparation at Edinburgh, and promoted him to the Priesthood on Ember Saturday, December 18th. The young Priest said his first Mass on Christmas-Day. Bishop Hay, in allusion to his Ordination, heartily prayed God to grant this young man a double portion of the spirit of his Vocation, and said Mass for that purpose on the day of his Ordination.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Dec. 19.]

On Christmas-Eve, both of the Chapels in Blackfriars’ Wynd were opened, and were filled; in St. Margaret’s Chapel there were several Protestants, but everything was quiet. The Catholics at Aberdeen were not so fortunate, for a great part of the night the danger of a serious riot seems to have been imminent.

“M. H. and Dear Sir,—Lest any account of what follows shouln come to you through any other channel, I thought it proper to write you the real state of the matter myself. On Christmas-Eve a great number of strangers assembled in the Close some time before the doors were opened, and were very noisy to get in; and when the doors were opened, great numbers rushed in with our people. We behoved to give way, and when all were in, the outer gate was shut, and everything went on to the end with great quiet and tranquillity within doors. But without in the streets great numbers gathered and increased, which looking suspicous, some of ours that were there in waiting informed the Officer upon guard; but he, not daring to act without the Civil Magistrate, went to the Provost and told him the suspected danger, desiring to send some Peace Officer along with him. But the Provost, who was then in a company of about twelve gentlemen upon business, told he would go himself, and all his company went with him. When they came, and a party of the Military with them, the Mob was become very numerous—some said about two or three thousand—and appeared very obstinate to get in, refusing to let the others approach, upon which the Soldiers were ordered to present their bayonets and press on, which they did, and the Mob retired, so that the Soldiers got possession of the gate. But the

Mob still appearing very riotous, the Provost ordered the Soldiers to seize whom they could, and put them in prison. This they did, and some of the gentlemen who were with the Provost did the same, so that about sixteen were taken into custody, and the rest, seeing things turn into earnest, retired and dispersed. The Provost, however, ordered some Soldiers to remain at the gate till all was over with us and the gates should be shut. While all this was going on without doors, we were perfectly quiet within, and I knew nothing of the matter till next morning, when our door-keeper, who had been called upon by the Provost, came and told me the whole, and that his Lordship hoped I was not disturbed, and that he was to call for me himself by and bye. Hearing all this, I thought it proper to write his Lordship a Letter, expressing my concern for his trouble, with thanks, &c., and my wishes that nothing might be done to the prisoners, &c. This was given him when he was in Council and several of the Prisoners before him. He gave them a severe reprimand, and told them he would have given them 15 days’ confinement and a good fine; but that I, whom they wanted to injure, had interceded for them by Letter, and on that account he would pardon them for this time; but that they ought to go and thank me. Thus ended in peace this threatening storm; but I fear we shall be obliged to give up our Midnight Prayers on future occasions, not to give a handle to such dangers. . . . Praying God to grant you a large Share of the Blessings of this Holy Season, I remain, M. H. and Dear Sir, ever yours in Dno. Dauley.

“Aberdeen, 26th Dec., 1784.”  
[B. Hay to B. Geddes.]

A constant subject of thought and of anxious inquiry to Bishop Hay throughout this year, had been a proposed application of the Bank of Scotland to Parliament for leave to increase its Capital Stock by £100,000. The prospect of a good Investment for the Mission Funds, kept his mind ever alive to such a favourable opportunity; at the same time that he felt the probable difficulty of finding all the ready money that would be required to enable him, as already a Proprietor of Bank Stock, to purchase additional Shares. In such matters he consulted and deferred a good deal to the opinion of his Coadjutor, who, though sometimes not quite exact enough in his Accounts to please the Bishop, was unquestionably a wise counsellor on larger questions of Finance.

The Christmas Riot at Aberdeen was not the only warning that the Scottish Catholics received this year of the precarious tenure of their toleration. In the West Highlands, a

collision took place between a Protestant and a Catholic Congregation, in circumstances not altogether devoid of humour. Mr. Austin Macdonald, a Catholic Missionary, during a visit to a portion of his scattered Flock in Ardnanurchan, had assembled a Congregation on a week day to hear Mass. A large body of Protestants, including an itinerant Preacher of the name of Fraser, congregated around the place, which the Priest perceiving, prepared to retire without saying Mass. The Preacher, however, assured him that he had nothing to fear, and that the Protestant body would, with himself, wait quietly till the end of the Service. When Mr. Macdonald had finished, he and his People were about to retire; but this Mr. Fraser would on no account permit, insisting on the Catholics remaining till the end of his Sermon, in spite of expostulation and remonstrance. This refinement in intolerance excited very bad feeling on both sides, and some of the neighbouring Ministers threatened the Catholics with a Prosecution. The influence of Bishop Geddes, however, with the Law Authorities in Edinburgh, was sufficient to Protect the Highland Catholics from injury, and to inflict a severe reprimand on the officious Preacher.—[Macpherson's Hist. of Mission, anno 1784.]

1785. Although Bishop Hay had now an Assistant at Aberdeen, he had still more than enough of harassing duty for his own share. Before the middle of January, 1785, he had to perform a series of fatiguing excursions through frost and snow. From Fetternear he was called to Meldrum to baptize a Child; after returning to Aberdeen, he was summoned to Conraig "on some necessary Business." No sooner had he accomplished this, than he was obliged to go to Pitfodels, Mr. Menzies being indisposed.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Jan. 18.] The distances were, not great indeed, but the inclemency of the season and his own infirmities would have made the shortest excursion from home sufficiently laborious.

A few years ago, we have seen Bishop Hay's persevering endeavours to obtain from Bishop Grant adequate assistance in the complicated duties that fell to the share of the Principal Missionary in Edinburgh. Bishop Geddes was now in the same situation; inadequately assisted, and continually pressing his Friend to make

some arrangement for his relief. With a change of names, Bishop Hay's Reply reads like an old Letter of Bishop Grant's. "You put me in mind in yours of the necessity of a proper Hand to relieve you. I assure you, my Dear Sir, as I have often done before, that I have that as much at heart as you can desire, so that your repeated Memorandums on that head are quite unnecessary, and rather distressing, considering the present impossibility of doing it. However, I shall only ask one favour of you on this point. — Whenever you are disposed to write on it again, propose at the same time some plan for accomplishing our wishes. You know the situation of our affairs as well as I — you know the abilities of our different subjects — you are equally concerned in having everything put on the most proper footing, and I am sure I am always ready to hear your opinion and follow your advice when there is no relevant reason to the contrary. Wishing you and Friends with you a happy Lent, and all good things."—[February 24.]

The Highland District at this time lost a valuable young Priest, only two years returned from Douay. Bishop Macdonald was called at midnight to attend him. After a long and fatiguing Journey on foot through the snow, the Bishop had to cross an arm of the Sea in an open Boat, which had such an effect on his health, that he doubted if he should ever recover from it.

Fresh evidence of the growing dissatisfaction among his Clergy had reached Bishop Hay, in a report from his Coadjutor, that some of them who were to be the new Administrators had declared that they would not accept Office. The Bishop could not understand it, or think it possible. "Can this be some new Persecution arising?" he replied to his Friend.—[March 19.] "If so, God's will be done!" In a few days he was to set off for a vacant Country Mission, and would be at home again in Easter Week. The fourth Sunday after Easter he proposed to pass at Fetternear; the two following Sundays in the Enzie. Spending Pentecost in the Strathbogie Mission, he would return to Aberdeen, after stopping at Fetternear for Trinity Sunday. Resuming the subject of his Coadjutor's harassing employment in Edinburgh, the Bishop proceeds — "I am much concerned that you are so much overcharged with Business; but what can I do,

my Dear Sir? To advise you to what I think would ease you, I am afraid, would be but ill taken, and not followed. Yet my concern for you and our common Cause is such, that I cannot help recommending one thing to your serious attention, and that is the following Expression of our Saviour—‘Not every one that says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.’ Many actions and employments may be materially good in themselves, and yet not good, yea, really evil to us. Those only are good to us, which contribute to bring us to Heaven, and those only will bring us to Heaven which God wills we should do. If, therefore, we would examine ourselves impartially, *coram Deo*, without being biassed by what is agreeable to our natural inclinations, and resolutely withdraw ourselves from all those engagements and employments (whatever plausible colouring our self-love may put upon them) of which we cannot say, *In simplicitate cordis coram Deo*,—*This is what God wills I should at present do*,—if, I say, we would do this, I am much of opinion we would [should] find plenty of time to do all His will, with infinite advantage to our poor Souls. Happy had it been for me, had I understood this properly twenty years ago; God Almighty enable me to understand it properly at least now!” So difficult is it even for the best of men to judge of other men’s actions from any but their own habitual point of view. The result sufficiently proved that Bishop Geddes was pursuing his line with immense advantage to the interests of Religion, although in circumstances totally different from any in which Bishop Hay had ever had an opportunity of acting. Fortunately, Bishop Geddes had firmness enough to maintain his own position, in spite of severe remonstrances like the preceding. It was at the sacrifice of his constitution, however, and his acceptability and popularity among all classes of citizens were purchased at the cost of his own premature decay, the result of excessive labour.

Holy Saturday, March 26th, put a period to the long and useful Life of Mr. William Reid, at Aberdeen. He had been attached to the Mission since 1739, and had always evinced an uncommon union of great Piety with strong good-sense. He died as he had lived, devoutly, and honoured by all his Friends.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the disinterested way in which Bishop Hay was ever ready to spend his money, as well as himself, in promoting the interests which alone he had at heart. Fresh instances are perpetually recurring. At one time it shows itself in the satisfaction which he expresses, at hearing that the result of his Medical and Pharmaceutical skill is likely to be profitable to “company.” He had compounded a simple Stomachic Pill, and, from its increasing popularity, hoped that it would, in no long time, yield an income to the Mission.—[Jan. 24, and March 1, 1784.] A medical gentleman, in the neighbourhood of Preshome, who is in possession of the traditional Recipe for these Pills, informs the Author that they are composed of Aloes and Jalap Powder, with a sprinkling of Flour of Sulphur. They are, even now, in some request in the North of Scotland, particularly among the Catholic population. At another time a question had arisen as to the title of a Priest to his Expenses, when called to Edinburgh on public business, and as to the person on whom the liability for payment ought to fall. “When I was in your place,” the Bishop writes to his Coadjutor,—[April 2, 1785.]—“I never put a question of that kind to Mr. Grant, even in the first years, when I had little to spare. I considered what I had as destined by Providence, not simply for my food and raiment, but also for all necessary charges in executing the proper functions of my state; besides, I knew that Mr. Grant could as ill-spare it as I. But as circumstances are different in that respect at present, in case you find it inconvenient, you are very welcome to place it to my account, only, I think it was rather too much.” He concludes with, “Many happy returns of this Holy Season to you, and all Friends with you; to all whom I desire to be kindly remembered, particularly to all our Brethren.” A few days later he again addressed his Friend, —[April 14.]—“As the time of Meeting is coming on, it will be an additional labour to you to get all your Accounts transcribed, and put in order. When I was in your place, I regularly gave Mr. Grant, a yearly account of Sealan money, and indeed he required it; you’ll find them all balanced in the Ledger. I have never asked this from you, knowing how much you had to

do ; but I own it would be agreeable to me to know how these Accounts stand. *P.S.*—Do jot down everything you can think of, necessary to be spoken of at Meeting."

After Easter, Bishop Geddes visited the infant Mission at Glasgow, in which he continued to take a lively interest. On this occasion he said Mass thrice, and had several Communicants.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, April 19.]

On the removal of Mr. James Cameron to Aberdeen, Mr. Maxwell of Kirkeonnell had stipulated that Mr. Maegillivray should be sent to supply his place. But Mr. Maegillivray's Congregation petitioned so earnestly that he might not be taken from them, that the Bishop declined to remove him. Mr. Maxwell, therefore, waiving his request for him, said, Send me back Mr. Cameron. It was now Mr. Cameron's turn to decline to move again, so soon after settling in the neighbourhood of his Friends at Aberdeen ; nor was the Bishop willing lightly to part with him. In the pressure of more important affairs, this little matter seems trifling enough, yet it required no small tact and management, on the part of both the Bishops, to keep all parties in good humour. Bishop Hay, who by this time was advanced some way on the Missionary Tour which he had sketched out in March, wrote to his Coadjutor from Fochabers, April 30, and again from Lieheston in the Enzie, May 8, to solicit his advice as to the best course to be followed. He was not disposed to attach much importance to the Petitions of the Glenlivat Congregation, thinking it, without, however, any positive proof, "the work of some interested person among the Clergy." Three weeks later, we find him at Aberdeen, still discussing the complications of the Kirkeonnell Missionary. "Mr. Maxwell will easily see that we have not the same authority (in this land and age of liberty,) over our People, as the Superiors S. J. had over theirs, and that it is necessary to use all prudential means, and even condescensions, in order to do things *fortiter* but *suaviter*."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, May 28 and 30.]—Mr. Maxwell, however, finally gained his Point, and secured Mr. Maegillivray as his Missionary. Mr. James Cameron succeeded Mr. Fraser, an Ex-Jesuit, now superannuated in the Mission of Munshes in Galloway ; Mr. John Gordon,

nephew of Bishop Geddes, took Mr. Cameron's place at Aberdeen ; the Mission of Glenlivat was entrusted to Mr. James Carruthers, a young Priest who had lately returned from Douay, and whom Bishop Geddes Ordained at Edinburgh in the Autumn Ember week. Mr. William Reid exchanged the remote charge of the Shenvale Congregation, for the care of the Stryla Mission around Keith ; and Mr. Andrew Dawson commenced his Missionary career at Shenvale, the Centre of the Cabrach District. "So many Changes are very disagreeable if we could have helped it," was Bishop Hay's remark at the time ; "but necessity has now, for many years, been our only guide in these matters."—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, August 8.]

It had been arranged that the Stryla Missionary should reside at Kempeairn, near Keith, where a House and Chapel were to be provided for him. This, with other Chapels to which the Bishop was pledged, was felt by him as a considerable burden for this year. "For my part," he assures his Coadjutor, "I think my money cannot be better employed than for such a purpose ; but I cannot do all, and hope you will do something at least for Kempeairn."—[May 11.]

The new Missionary at Kempeairn had returned from Douay about five years ago. When he waited on Bishop Hay to receive his Appointment to some Mission, he was informed that the Cabrach was then vacant, and awaiting his acceptance. This wild Glen in the Highlands of Banffshire, the poorest Mission in the District, had obtained the nickname of "Siberia;" and young Missionaries often began their Course there, and were promoted to better Situations, as they approved themselves, and as younger Candidates arrived from abroad. "Very well," was Mr. Reid's reply to the Bishop ; "I can have no objections ; it is very proper that every one should take his turn in that place." "Stop," said the Bishop gravely ; "that is not a proper way of speaking of it ; you should be willing, if necessary, to go and labour there, for the rest of your life." "Of course, of course," answered the young Priest ; "but if that should happen, may the Lord have mercy on me." Mr. Reid survived the Bishop fourteen years, and towards the close of his useful life, was known as the "Patriarch." We shall meet with him again in our History.

On his recent Missionary Tour, the Bishop again imagined that he had cause of complaint against his Coadjutor, for want of punctuality in his Correspondence. "In your last, you promised to write [to] me the following Post, after conversing again with Kirkeconnell; but two Posts are past since, and no word from you. I suppose it is a Spanish compliment, to amuse their Friends; for you told me some months ago, that Mr. Alex. Cameron had promised to you to write [to] me soon; but not a Scrape, as yet. It would be much more agreeable not to make any such promise at all, but write when you can; for the pain of disappointment is really much greater than the pleasure of expectation."—[May 8, from Licheston.] The Bishop's complaint was unfounded. The Letters he had been looking for, were then lying for him at Mortlach. His Correspondent had miscalculated his movements through the District; otherwise the Letters would have reached him at Licheston. In his reply, the Bishop frankly acknowledges that his Friend was not to blame.\*

It became necessary, in the course of this Summer, to repair the old Chapel on the East side of Blackfriars' Wynd. Bishop Hay had already too much on hand, for this year, to be able to contribute anything towards it; and recommended that what was required should be borrowed, and the Interest paid out of the Seat-Rents, and the Capital, by degrees. As in the instance of the Chapel on the other side of the Wynd, opposition was made by a neighbour; but Mr. Menzies, the Priest, with the greatest promptness, took legal advice of Mr. Colquhoun Grant, and Mr. Sprott, and in two hours from the time the work was stopped, the Dean of Guild and his Council was on the top of the walls, hearing the arguments on either side.—[Mr. P. Macpherson to B. Geddes, July 20.]—

\* It may be interesting to show a list of "The Celebrations for 1784."

"(1.) New Hilton and Robert James, to Mr Charles Cruickshanks. (2.) Dobbie to Mr. Polenan. (3.) Traqr. to Edr. Abdn., Strathdown and Mortlach. (4.) Neilvad, Glenlivat, Stobhall, Mr Wm. Reid, Sen., and Huntly; but this not being accepted, it was given to Mr. John Farquhar.

"Ditto. for 1785. (1.) New Hilton and Rt. James, not settled till we meet. Dobbie, to Dauley's application, but not applied till we meet. (2.) Traqr, Ednr., Abdn., Strathdown and Mortlach. (3.) Neilvad, Glenlivat, Shenville, Stobhall, and Huntly."—B. Hay. to B. Geddes, June 4, 1785.

He decided in favour of the Priest, and the losing party threatened an Appeal to the Court of Session; but nothing further seems to have checked the progress of the repairs. This Chapel was popularly known as "St. Andrew's Chapel," and sometimes as the "Highland Chapel;" for in it, Mr. Robert Menzies preached every Sunday in Gaelic to his Highland Congregation.

Early in June, Bishop Hay, as usual, began to look forward to the Annual Meeting at Scalan, in the following Month, and to make arrangements for it with his Coadjutor, whose place in Edinburgh Mr. P. Macpherson was to supply during his Absence. "As for our doing without you, this year, I cannot think of that; both our public and private concerns require your presence, insomuch, that if it really were impossible for you to come North, I shall be obliged afterwards to go South to you. Your return from Scalan shall be entirely in your own option; if the nearness increases the attraction [to Aberdeen] so far that it would give you pain to resist it, you may be sure, my dear Sir, that I shall not oppose your yielding to it. As for the harm your going back from Scalan in 1782 did either to you or me, I am quite insensible of any it could do; unless some idle or malignant mind may have made some unfavourable reflections on it; but I flatter myself you are above minding such *Says*, especially when no just Cause has been given; and however I may have formerly given my Friends reasons to think that I could easily be influenced by such motives; our Good Lord has, of late, sent me such remedies as may, and I hope in His Infinite Goodness will, in His good time effectually cure me of that weakness."—[June 3.]

Bishop Geddes had hinted to his Friend that he had several measures to propose, for the better management of their common concerns, but at the same expressing his doubt whether his doing so would be agreeable to his Friend. Bishop Hay, in reply said,—[June 12]—"I give you all assurance that you are at full liberty, for my part, to propose whatever you think may be conducive to the common good. Nothing I have more at heart than to see our little Community settled upon the most solid footing, that matters may not be exposed to fluctuations and Changes, which are always disagreeable, and

often hurtful. One thing only I would recommend to you, and that is, to have your plans clearly digested, and the heads of them at least and the ends proposed, set down in writing. This will save a good deal of time, and give people all at once a proper view of the matter, so that they can have their thoughts collected about it, without misunderstanding one another."

Bishop Macdonald having fixed July 16th, as the time of his setting out for Sealan, Bishop Hay proposed leaving home on the 29th of June, after Prayers, spending the following Sunday at Fetternear, and so reaching Sealan, through the Garioch, calling at several Places on the way.—[June 16.]—He requested his Coadjutor to bring his Bulls of Consecration with him, or, if they could not be found, Bishop Geddes' own; and concluded his preliminary arrangements by advising his Friend, when his Letters were not finished by Eight o'clock, not to hurry with them, but keep them till next day; for when they were not posted till near Nine, they were kept in the Office till next morning, at the risk of being lost; a serious mischance of this kind having happened to Mr. Cruickshanks while he was Procurator, involving not a Letter only, but a Bill enclosed in it.—[June 23.]

In 1785, an unhappy Dispute between the Scotch College Paris, and the Bishops at home, reached its climax. In order to understand its merits, it will be necessary to look into the history of that Institution.

In 1325, David, Bishop of Moray, endowed four Burses in the University of Paris, for as many poor Scholars, natives of Scotland. Their original residence was in a hired Lodging, in the Hôtel du Chardonnet, Rue St. Victoire. The Founder provided for their maintenance by the gift of a Farm at Grisy, a Village near Brie Compte Robert, in Normandy, about 30 miles from Paris. This little Property still forms part of the Foundation of the Scotch College, Paris, in consideration of which so many Students are maintained at the expense of the French Government. The name of Grisy was generally employed in the Correspondence of last Century to signify the College itself.

The Bishop of Moray did not long survive his gift, dying January 20, 1326.—[Keith's Catalogue, Ed. Russell, p. 140.] His Foundation

was confirmed by Letters Patent of Charles le Bel, in August of the same year. After the alienation of the three Scottish Universities from the Catholic Religion, it became of more importance to increase the means of educating Students in foreign Universities. Accordingly, at the recommendation of a secular Priest named Winterhasse, who had charge of the Scotch Endowment in Paris, in 1566; and subsequently, on the application of James Beaton, the expatriated Archbishop of Glasgow, Queen Mary Stuart became a Benefactress to that Endowment. As early as 1571, she had added several Bursaries, to which she exercised the right of presenting Students. Beaton himself, in his Will, dated 1603, bequeathed for the same object, his residuary Property, together with a House in the Rue des Amendiers, Paris, for the residence of Scottish Students; up to that time the holders of Bursaries had been living on their separate Exhibitions. By his Will, he also nominated the Prior of the Carthusians at Paris, and his Successors, as the Superiors of this Establishment, which was designed especially for the education of Scottish youth, both Lay and Clerical. Still further, to consolidate all the Scotch Foundations in France, the Sieur Gondy, First Archbishop of Paris, in 1639, united the four original Burses of the Bishop of Moray to Queen Mary's and to Beaton's benefactions; an act which the Civil Authorities confirmed by Letters Patent, in December, 1639, and in September 1640. A new Confirmation of all previous Benefactions to the College was granted by Louis XIV., in Letters Patent, dated Dec. 15th, 1688, at which time it stood where it still stands, in the Rue Fossés St. Victoire, or Doctrine Chrétienne. The new Letters Patent defined the object of the Institution to be the education of Ecclesiastical Missionaries for Scotland, and the instruction of the youth of that Country generally, in Knowledge and in Virtue. It was always to be united to the University of Paris, and to enjoy all Rights, Privileges, and Prerogatives of other Colleges in that University; and the sole Superior of the College was, in terms of Beaton's Will, declared to be the Prior of the Carthusians in Paris, for the time being; under whom, a Principal and a Procurator, both of them natives of Scotland, should have the Superintendence of the Bursars and Scholars.

All of these must, in terms of the Foundation, be also Scotchmen by birth. The *Statuta*, or Regulations for the internal Government of the College, were first collected into a formal Code, from the original Papers, and the traditional practice of the House, by Dom. Marine, Prior of the Carthusians in 1707, with the advice of Mr. Louis Innes, the Principal.

A Constitution such as this, evidently afforded the Scottish Bishops no control in the affairs of the College. Their influence was limited to the deference which a good natured Principal might be disposed to yield to their wishes. If, by any accident, they lost his confidence, their voice in the management of the College was virtually at an end. In point of fact, there being no Scottish Bishops in existence when the College received its Constitution, the contingency of their future creation seems not to have occurred to the persons engaged in framing Statutes for its Government. At the time of Bishop Nicolson's Consecration, as First Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland, the College in Paris was fortunate in the possession of Mr. Louis Innes, as its Principal; a member of the Family of Drumgask. He had the interests of Religion in his native Country sincerely at heart, and although he was much engaged at the Court of St. Germains, by his Office of Aumonier, a private Chaplain to the exiled Queen of England, he turned his influence to some account in behalf of the Scottish Mission. To the exertions of himself and of his Brothers, Walter and Thomas, the Mission is indebted for the Appointment of Bishops; and the first five Prelates who were sent to Scotland were all more or less connected with the Scotch College in Paris. Before Bishop Nicolson left France in 1695, to enter on his new and untried duties at home, Mr. Innes laid before him the whole condition of the College, showed him its Accounts, and made him master of its affairs, promising, at the same time, that in the admission of Students, the Superiors should be guided by the choice and the recommendation of the Bishop. In return, for this spontaneous act of courtesy, Bishop Nicolson appointed Mr. Innes his Procurator or Agent at Paris, and his Vicar-General, that Dimissorials for the Ordination of Students might be obtained on the spot, and that Mis-

sionaries who were ready for labour might be sent home without delay.

His Brother, Mr Thomas Innes, the eminent Antiquary, was of no less service in maintaining harmony between the Parisian College and the Mission. This distinguished man, born at Walkerdale in the Enzie, soon after the Restoration, received his education in the Scotch College, Paris, and for some time after the completion of his studies, he was employed in arranging the Papers of the College, together with a few Monuments of the ancient Churches in Scotland, and in preparing a history of the College from its Foundation, till his own time. In 1695, he went to reside with a Curé for a while, to prepare himself for the Mission, to which he returned in 1698. Three years afterwards, Bishop Nicolson sent him back to Paris, to succeed his brother Louis as the Bishop's Agent, and to supply the place of Prefect of Studies in the Scotch College, an office which he filled for the long period of twenty-six years. He re-visited his native Country for a few Months in 1727; early in the following year, he bade it a final adieu, and after a short residence in London, the year 1729 found him once more in Paris, which he never again left till his death, in 1744. He continued all his life to be a great Collector of Papers and Monuments, principally with a view to illustrating the History of Religion in his native Country. He is best known by his "Critical Essay on the Ancient Picts and Scots," and by his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," between the years 80 and 597, lately published by the Spalding Club.

Owing to the frequent engagements of Mr. Louis Innes, at St. Germains, the management of the Scotch College was left very much in the hands of the Procurator, Mr. Whiteford; who, although naturally well qualified for the task, seems to have discharged it carelessly, and to have trusted to his personal influence with the Carthusian Prior, and with the exiled Court, to screen himself from blame. The consequence was, a serious deficiency in its Revenues. An effort was made about 1704, to rescue its management from his hands, but with no success, and when Mr. Louis Innes resigned the Principalship, in 1712, to follow the Court which was then about to leave France, Mr.

Whiteford had interest enough to procure his own appointment to the vacant office, which he held till his death, in 1738.

In 1704, a sum of money belonging to the Scottish Mission, was invested in the Hotel de Ville of Paris, in the name of the Scotch College, but with an understanding that it really belonged to the Mission; an arrangement which the foresight of Mr. Thomas Innes pointed out as likely in future years to occasion disagreeable Collisions between the Superiors of the College and of the Mission, as the event unhappily proved.

A new generation of the Drumgask Family now served the Mission and the College. Mr. George Innes, a nephew of the late Principal, at the conclusion of his Studies in Paris, entered on the Mission in 1712, and, three years afterwards, assumed the charge of the small Highland Seminary or School. When Mr Thomas Innes, his Uncle, resigned the Prefecture of Studies at Paris, he entered on his duties; and was finally promoted to the Principalship, on the Death of Mr. Whiteford in 1738; an Office which he held till his death, in 1752. We have already seen how warmly he entered into Mr. Hay's Interests, at the time of his first going to Rome.

During the long period of sixty years, in which the ascendancy of the Inneses fortunately continued in the Scotch College, Paris, the Scottish Bishops invariably found their wishes received with deference by the Superiors of the College. Even in the midst of the unfortunate dissensions which, about 1733, threatened the very existence of the Mission, and while the Parisian College was made an object of unfair accusation by the intrigues of a small cabal, the harmony which had long united the College with good Bishop Gordon, was never interrupted; and Mr. Thomas Innes, against whom the malevolence of the cabal was more particularly aimed, withdrew from the College itself, and took up his residence in the City, that nothing personal to himself might embarrass the Relations of the College to the Mission. In fact, from the beginning, the Parisian College had been of great assistance to Religion in Scotland, and still more so during the reign of the Inneses. It had given many valuable Labourers to the Mission; its doors had always been open

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to receive any fugitive Missionary whom peril to life or liberty not unfrequently compelled to fly his Country, and seek a temporary residence abroad. Students, on their way to Rome, were constantly entertained at Paris; and in order to relieve the poor Mission, the expenses of their further Journey were defrayed by the Superiors of the Parisian College. On their return, in like manner, they were always welcome guests; they were often induced to prolong their residence at Paris, till they had recovered the use of their Native language, and had acquired a practical knowledge of their future duties. The public purse of the College, and the private purses of its Superiors were over and over again opened to assist the pecuniary distress of the Mission. The early Scotch Agents at Rome knew little or nothing of the difficulties under which the Scottish Missionaries laboured. The Superiors at Paris supplied them with information, as far as it was possible. They maintained a weekly Correspondence with Rome; taught the Agent the miseries of his Native country, suggesting remedies, and stimulating his zeal till they were obtained.

With the death of Mr. George Innes, in 1752, this spirit of harmony between the Mission and the College was destined to decline. The new Principal, Mr. John Gordon of Auchentoul, or Dorletteers, (hence, frequently mentioned in the Correspondence as Mr. Dorlet,) took less Pains to secure the confidence of the Bishops in his Administration. The principal cause of their dissatisfaction arose from the defective training of the young Ecclesiastics, which deprived the Mission of many promising Students, and too often resulted in their open defection from Religion, on their return as laymen to their own Country. When the Bishops remonstrated with the Principal, they could obtain little satisfaction; there appeared to be no alternative but to leave the management of the College alone, or to come to an open rupture with its Superiors.

—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, June 26, 1784.]

On Mr. Gordon's death, in 1777, there was some hope of improvement in this respect. His Successor, Mr. Alexander Gordon, had served the Mission for many years, and at the time of his Election was Agent or Procurator for the Clergy at Edinburgh. On his leaving Scotland, in 1778, to enter on his new office, he took with

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him two of the most promising Students at Scalau; and great hopes were entertained that Grisy would ere long retrieve her reputation, and become once more a nursery of valuable Missionaries. To the surprise and grief of the Bishops, however, both of those young men returned home before the completion of their studies. One of them, Mr. Peter Hay, who did not long survive his return, finding himself dying, opened his mind both personally and by Letter, to Bishop Hay; assuring him that the real cause of his loss of health, and of his returning home prematurely, was vexation at the abuses that had crept into the College at Paris, and to which he attributed the defection of his fellow-student, and of others whom he named. Bishop Hay, as he passed through Paris, on his way from Rome, in 1782, made more particular inquiries into the management of the College than Mr. Gordon relished; and we have already seen evidence of his quarrelsome spirit in his protracted dispute with the Bishop as to the maintenance of his brother.

Such was the state of affairs, when the Bishops held their Annual Meeting at Scalau, in 1783. The Principal had applied to them for boys to supply the recent vacancies. It appeared to Bishop Hay that the time had now come to bring matters to a crisis. He laid before his Colleagues the information that Peter Hay had given him, and urged upon them the extreme measure of refusing to send any more boys to Paris, till the College should be placed in a more satisfactory condition. His Colleagues felt the force of his reasons, but shrank from so open a rupture as this resolution must occasion. The Bishop, however, carried his point against their opinion; and the Principal was duly informed that he might expect no more boys from Scotland, till the system of the College should be thoroughly reformed. The prediction of Mr. Thomas Innes was now fulfilled; and the worst fears of Bishops Macdonald and Geddes were realised. The Principal replied to what he considered this unjustifiable interference of the Bishops, by suspending the funds in Paris, belonging to the Seminary at Scalau, under the pretence that their object was the maintenance of boys while preparing for the College in Paris. He also, under colour of a similar claim, sequestered the Funds belonging to the Mission that

were in his hands. It was in vain that Bishop Geddes employed his singular talent for making peace; the Principal was inexorable and would not listen to reason.

It was now Bishop Hay's turn to appeal to the Prior of the Carthusians, as ultimate Superior, against the iniquity of Mr. Gordon's measure of retaliation. In this Appeal, which was written in French, and dated January 27, 1784, the Bishop treated the whole subject with his usual method and completeness. Unfortunately, in his anxiety to make out a case against the College, sufficient to justify his late measure, he revived the recollection of the dissensions that had agitated the Mission half-a-century before, and "owing," as Abbé Macpherson remarks,—[Continuation of Mr. Thomson's History, anno 1781.]—"to his scarcely excusable ignorance of history," he sanctioned the proceedings of a cabal which had threatened the very existence of the Mission; and cited its accusations against the Parisian College as evidence in the present cause. An *ex parte* statement of these accusations was supplied to the Bishop by the aged Mr. William Reid—[MS. at Preshome, July 2, 1783. A Copy in my possession]—who had been a Student in the Roman College, at the date of those dissensions, and had warmly espoused the side opposed to the Parisian College, and to the great body of the Missionaries at home, with Bishop Gordon at their head.

As the Bishop approached a later period there was more relevancy in his complaints. He reminded the Prior of the little good that the Mission had for more than a quarter of a century derived from the College at Paris; and of the failure of many youths of great promise, whose Ecclesiastical studies ended in disappointment. The Bishops had not shrunk from remonstrating with the Superiors of the College. Bishop Smith in 1761, had expressed his opinion very strongly; and it was impossible to resist the conclusion that there must be some radical defect in the system of Education in the College.

Bishop Hay was again unfortunate in his choice of arguments. Had he contented himself with thus forcibly exposing the defects of which he complains, or had he confined his illustrations of them to times and persons then passed away, it would have been well. But he

proceeded to animadvert on living examples of Parisian training; and thus provoked the acrimony of two dangerous men, who keenly resented, and not altogether unreasonably, such a discussion. One of these men was Dr. Alexander Geddes, whom the Bishop represented to the Prior as a man, at his first entrance on Missionary duties, so full of scruples as to be nearly useless, and afterwards, running to the opposite extremes, and giving offence to many by the levity of his conduct, and the liberalism of his sentiments; as a man who had incurred heavy debts, from which he was relieved only by the charity of his friends, and who, finally, had abandoned the Mission and retired to London, but not before he had gone publicly on a Sunday to a Heretical service, in a Protestant Church, in company with two Catholic Ladies, and who, not content with this, had persisted in defending his conduct wherever he went, so that it became necessary to forbid him to do so, under pain of Suspension.\*

The other example which Bishop Hay cited, was the Principal himself; a man, as he described him, of irreproachable life, and a good Missionary, but who had provoked serious disagreements with his Superiors, and given them a great deal of trouble by his obstinacy, in a matter of no great importance indeed in itself, and in which he had finally acknowledged himself in the wrong.

With so little to lay to the charge of Mr. Gordon in past time, and with the certain knowledge that the Prior would communicate everything to him, it would have been better for Bishop Hay's position in the pending Dispute, if he had waived all personal allusion of this kind to his opponent, however provoking his opposition might be. And knowing, as he did, partially at least, how much capacity of mischief lay in Dr. A. Geddes, the Bishop had better have

\* We have here an instructive example of one of the best of men in the character of an advocate and an accuser, exaggerating facts, probably unconsciously. Dr. Geddes, indeed, had gone to the Protestant Church with two Catholic Ladies; but the Bishop was bound in fairness to add that one of these Ladies was attended by her Protestant husband, Lord Findlater, and that the other, Miss Stewart, had accompanied her Friend. When the whole truth is told, the fact of Dr. Geddes having been in their company, instead of being a circumstance of aggravation, as the Bishop's language implies, becomes one of perfect indifference, if not of palliation.

avoided an exposure of circumstances only remotely bearing on the question at issue. Had the case occurred in our day, nothing could probably have saved the Bishop from a harassing and expensive Lawsuit. He concluded his citation of examples illustrating the defective training at Crisy, by referring to recent instances of Students who had failed, and in particular to the dying testimony of Peter Hay, lately a Student, and one of the Superiors in the College; whose health had given way under anxiety produced by daily witnessing abuses which he had no power to rectify; and who had returned home, without receiving Priest's Orders, only to die, in December, 1783. From all those instances, the Bishop left it to the Prior to judge how far he was warranted in conscience, in refusing to send any more Students to Paris, till a reformation of abuses had taken place.

Regarding the retention of the Mission and Seminary Funds, the Bishop complained that the Prior, by advising and sanctioning it, had in fact prejudged the Case before hearing both sides, as if the Bishops had nothing to urge in defence of their refusal to send Students to Paris. The Prior had also unjustly attached Funds over which he had legally no control. In conclusion, the Bishop defended his direct application to the Prior for redress, and besought him to review his decision, after a careful consideration of all the facts adduced.

This elaborate Appeal was sent under cover to the Nuncio at Brussels, with a request that the Nuncio at Paris would take the trouble of delivering it with his own hand to the Prior, which was done. The Prior, De Nonant, had, however, made the Cause his own; and in a short and contemptuous Reply, dated Paris, April 14, 1784, repeated and defended his determination to arrest the Funds in Paris belonging to the Seminary, as long as the Scottish Bishops continued to refuse to send Students to the College. "There the affair stands," as Bishop Hay informed Mr. Thomson—[June 26, 1784];—"but having come thus far—which I thought absolutely necessary, and which the other two very well saw—it will be necessary to go on with resolution, and either to sink or swim. It is better for us to send none there, than to send and have them ruined." At the Bishops' Meeting in 1784, Bishop Hay laid before his Colleagues

a draft of a Reply to De Nonant's supercilious Letter. In this Reply, dated August 17, 1784, he at great length rebutted the arguments of the Prior, and again established the conclusion of his former Appeal. Bishop Geddes also, as Procurator for the Mission, wrote to Paris, protesting against the injustice of attaching the Funds of the Mission in a cause wholly foreign to their objects and destination; and by his winning courtesy, he succeeded in effecting a compromise in respect to them, pending the principal question at issue.

Principal Gordon himself next appeared in the field, armed with a ponderous French Pamphlet, dated April 20, 1785, and edited in London by Dr. Alexander Geddes. It was entitled "*Mémoire de M. Gordon, Principal du Collège des Ecossais à Paris, pour Servir de réponse à l'invective de M. l'Évêque Hay, contre les supérieurs et élèves du dit Collège. 1785.*" —[Quarto, pp. 62, with an Appendix containing a number of Pieces Justificatives.] It made its first appearance as a Private Paper in the hands of Mr. Harry Innes, whom with two others the Principal had commissioned to represent his interests, at the Bishops' Annual Meeting at Scalan in 1785. It was read and discussed at great length in presence of the Bishops and Administrators; although, as Bishop Hay described it,—[To Mr. J. Thomson, Aug. 8. 1785]—“it was such a Paper as might be expected from such a source—full of misrepresentation, falsehood, and acrimony.” This Conference resulted in a proposal on the part of the Bishops, that for the present, if Grisy wanted Boys, it must choose them and pay for their board at Scalan, and for their outfit and travelling expenses on leaving it. And there, the Bishops seem to have flattered themselves, the matter was to rest.

Hardly, however, had Bishop Geddes returned to Edinburgh, when he learned that the Principal's Answer to Bishop Hay had actually been passing through the Press in London, while Mr. Innes was reading it at Scalan. His informant seems to have been Dr. Alexander Geddes himself, who was in Edinburgh in the month of September on his way to Glasgow for Literary purposes. Bishop Geddes, in communicating the intelligence regarding the publication of the Pamphlet to his Friend at Aberdeen, adds—[Sept. 17]—“May our Good God direct and

support you.” He expresses his doubts whether the Bishop ought to answer it, and his congratulation that at least the Memoir is in French. “Most earnestly recommending myself to your good prayers, and wishing you light and comfort from Heaven, I am,” etc.

Bishop Hay replied to his Friend almost by return of post.

“Sept. 21, 1785.

“Give yourself no pain, I entreat you, about whatever step the Principal takes against me. You know how merciful our Good Lord has been to me for some time past, in preparing me for this, by others such of a no less touching nature. He knows how far it is fit this affair should go, and I desire nothing more than the entire accomplishment of His Holy Will. From what passed at Scalan, Mr. Innes and the other gentlemen must have seen how far I have been wronged in this matter. If they choose to take the side of truth against misrepresentations of the Principal, good and well; if not, I have no objection to their silence. Supported by the integrity of my own intentions, I resign myself to the hands of Providence. My side has been rather worse since you left this, and I have little grounds to think it will ever turn much better. I had a blister at it last week, but with little or no effect. The Doctors give me little or no encouragement, and all they advise is, Give it ease!”

The Memoir of the Principal was now published, and copies of it were distributed among the Missionaries. It opens with an historical recital of the origin and progress of the dispute; it then proceeds to answer the accusations contained in Bishop Hay's Letter to the Prior, (1) against the present, and (2) against the former Administrators of the College. As a composition, it is not wanting in ingenuity; but it is more distinguished by its bitterness and rancour. Malevolent satire is relieved by glaring sophisms and by false citations. The Bishop, by his imperfect acquaintance with historical facts, had laid himself open to criticism, which an adversary less blinded by anger might have turned to advantage; but by the intensity of his personal invective, the Principal weakened the force of his argument, and alienated every impartial judge by his entire forgetfulness of the courtesy due to the character, if not to the distinguished services and merits, of his Episcopal adversary. His Memoir may be regarded as a crowning proof and confirmation of the Bishop's position,

that there was a radical defect in the constitution of the College in question—another manifestation, although not a final one, of the spirit of mistrust towards the Scottish Bishops, and of jealousy in regard to their interference, which had for a long period marked its history, and which nothing but its total overthrow, a few years later, would probably ever have eradicated.

The Principal continued to talk loudly of carrying the Cause to Rome, unless Bishop Hay would retract his charges against himself and his College. To which the Bishop rejoined that Mr. Gordon was very welcome to write to Rome; his Opponent would willingly meet him there: neither would he refuse to retract or apologise for any misrepresentation which he might inadvertently have made, on his becoming aware of it; but he would never think of acknowledging the false interpretation which had been put upon his words.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Oct. 9.]

NOTE.—To avoid multiplying References, the Author here mentions, once for all, that in this Chapter, besides the current Correspondence, he has made use of Abbe Maepherson's MS. Continuation of Mr. Thomson's History; and Bishop Geddes' MS. Account of his Journey to Paris in 1791, which contains an abstract of the Letters Patent of 1688. See also Tierney's Dodd, IV., 123 et seqq. and Appendix; and Miscellaneous Papers of the Maitland Club, edited by Maegorrie, (1834) 76 et seqq.

## CHAPTER XV.

1785-1788.

B. Hay meditates Resigning his Office—Correspondence with Rome on the Subject, how terminated—He abandons the idea—Highland Chapel at Edinburgh—B. Hay answers Principal Gordon's *Memoir*—Mrs. Fitzhubert's Marriage—*Pious Christian* published—Robert Burns and B. Geddes—Disputes as to class of Youths suitable for Church Students—Reforms at Sealan—B. Hay re-visits Edinburgh—B. Hay takes charge of Seminary at Sealan.

The Meeting at Sealan, this year, was a stormy one. Besides the painful discussion of Principal Gordon's Memoir, the unfortunate appointment of Mr. Thomson as Agent at Rome, was again severely animadverted upon, in the Meeting of Administrators, who had been prepared for what was to follow by a Circular Letter, calling upon them to unite in resisting Episcopalian despotism. The Bishops had been made aware of the coming storm, some time previous to the Meeting. The subject was

boldly introduced by Mr. John Reid, at Sealan, who loudly Protested against the choice which had been made in Mr. Thomson, a man, it was alleged, extremely unpopular among his Brethren; and, with stronger emphasis, against the Bishop's departure from former precedent, in selecting the Agent without consulting the Administrators. Mr. Reid averred, what indeed could not be denied, that ever since their institution by Bishop Nicolson, in 1701, they had always been consulted in the choice of an Agent at Rome, and had even been held to possess the power of Suspending his Commission; a right which, only a few years before, they had threatened to exercise in regard to the late Agent, Abate Grant; and, singularly enough, at the Meeting which had recorded the threat, Bishop Hay, then a Priest, had acted as Clerk. The Bishops, on the other hand, stood on their sole right to Nominate the Agent; a right which by courtesy they might waive without permanently losing. Mr. Reid replied with warmth, that, as an anonymous Letter had been already sent to Rome, against Mr. Thomson, he, for his part, would write another Letter himself, and sign his name to it, even if no one would join him. Mr. Thomson's position at Rome being already sufficiently critical, the Bishops could not regard Mr. Reid's threat without anxiety; Bishop Geddes' gentle persuasion was therefore again put in requisition to induce him to relinquish his purpose; which was accomplished, but not without great difficulty.—[Maepherson's Continuation, anno, 1785.]

A Communication from Mr. Thomson reached Bishop Hay at Sealan, with the intelligence that a new Italian Rector was to be appointed to the College. The Bishop, in reply, remarked—[August 8]—“Its contents surprised us a good deal, and show us what the world is; our only consolation is, that the Divine Providence makes use of the passions and infirmities of human nature to establish its own views; and consequently having done all in our power, we must submit to its adorable dispositions.” The good Bishop no doubt thought that he had acted for the best, throughout the complicated business; but he failed to take sufficiently into account the elements of disappointment contained in his own position, and unbending method of conducting the negotiations, and in

his absolute disregard of the advice, and of the opposition offered by the other Bishops. These had as much to do with the total failure of his scheme for the reformation of the Scotch College, as any active interference on the part of Divine Providence. His Letter to Mr. Thomson continues, " You seem rather too much disheartened at the present disappointment ; do not lose your confidence, my dear Sir, in our good God ; *non est abbreviata manus Dni* ; and frequently the remedy of evils from His Hand is never nearer than when these evils go to their greatest height, and all human help fails us." He concludes by informing his friend of the double storm at Sealan, regarding the Roman Agency, and the Parisian College.

Among the usual Letters transmitted to Rome this year, that to Antonelli at Propaganda contains the following allusion to Bishop Hay : " His health is not good ; and the effects of his former fatigues are now much felt, in his mental faculties, as well, especially in his memory, which, for some years, has been growing weaker and weaker."

In the latter part of August, Bishop Geddes, on his way to Edinburgh, spent a week at Aberdeen with Bishop Hay, who was at this time almost overwhelmed by a sense of increasing infirmity, and of the gradual decline of his mental faculties, complicated by the opposition which assailed his Administration on every hand, both at home and abroad. His feeling of illness was not imaginary. Bishop Geddes, soon after his return to Edinburgh, thus describes the condition of his friend—[To Mr. Thomson, Oct. 7]—" Mr. Dauley's health is far from being good ; besides his pains of stomach and head, he still feels the bad effects of the fall he got last year, coming downstairs at Aberlour. This alarms me much. I see him failing, and he, himself, is by far too sensible of it. I staid with him a week at Aberdeen, in coming South, on purpose to cheer him, and consult with him on several things. From virtue, he is resigned, and says he is very easy in his mind, but he is not well." To which Mr. Thomson, in course of Post replied—[Nov. 11]—" I am truly concerned to hear such bad accounts of Mr. Dauley's health, especially considering that he is far from being advanced in years ; but his unremitting exercise and fatigue of mind and body

has certainly hurt his health much. You should really advise him strongly to moderate a little his exercise and fatigues, and to endeavour to prolong his days for the good of others. His own personal qualities, his value and consequence in the Mission, my own regard for him, make me exceedingly anxious for him. His value will be better known when he is lost, and his merit will be done justice to when he will leave us ; and perhaps, too, by some of those who are his antagonists at present."

The consultations of the two Friends at Aberdeen turned on a subject of no less moment than Bishop Hay's Resignation of his Episcopal Charge ; on which he had first sounded his Friend, in the preceding year, and on which he had also taken the opinion of the late Mr. William Reid. There are times of weakness and of depression in every one's experience, during the occurrence of which the burden of the present appears intolerable, and the future prospect without hope. Its cause is to be looked for in the feeble frame of dust and ashes, which too sensitively responds to the trials of the irritated and weary spirit. But it is only a pulse, a tide, which will flow again, as it has ebbed, and will restore the equilibrium of mental and of bodily vigour, if the hour of dulness is past in patience, and with at least passive courage. That a mind of strength so great as the Bishop's, so habitually regulated, and so intimately dependent on the highest principles of virtue, should have had to pass through the trial of a time of passion like this, may encourage others of less heroic constitution to bear their burdens, and to hold fast their hope, " till the day break, and the shadows flee away."

Bishop Geddes' natural impulse was to dissuade his Friend from any such change as he was contemplating. He, however, reserved the expression of his deliberate opinion, till his return to Edinburgh, when, after mature reflection, he wrote to inform his Friend—[Sep. 6]—that his own earnest wish must be that no change should take place ; but that if the Bishop, his Friends, and Propaganda should think it very necessary, then he himself must be relieved from the Procuratorship, and the principal charge of the Congregation at Edinburgh ; suggesting the difficulty of finding a Substitute, as an additional motive for leaving things alone. He

further recommended the Bishop to consult his other Colleague in the Highlands before applying to Rome; and also to take the opinion of Mr. Cruickshanks, of Mr. Alexander Menzies, of Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Thomson. Was it not probable, he added, that Principal Gordon, by his late proceedings, might have aimed at forcing the Bishop to this step; and, if so, was it desirable to give him the semblance of a victory? Might it not be better for the Bishop to adopt the intermediate measure of devolving on his Coadjutor a part of his Charge, to be resumed on the complete restoration of his health? Friends would probably advise this; and it would please Bishop Geddes better than any other plan.

Bishop Hay's reply to this friendly appeal—[Oct. 11]—affords another example of the definite form which every question of importance invariably assumed, when presented to his mind.

“October 11, 1785.

“I have since been considering your reply on the main affair, and wish to give you my opinion on it soon; that you may communicate it also to Mr. Cruickshanks, before you write what passes between you and him on the matter. It does not appear to me necessary to lay this affair before any other in this country; for, 1st. Some, it is probable, would be against it, and others, I am sure, would be as much for it; but I am persuaded both the one and the other would be influenced more by inclination than by reason. 2d. I don't apprehend that either of them could give us any new light upon it, more than what we know already, at least, such as could be of any weight on either side. 3d. Whatever their opinion be, it could never be decisive, in assuring us where the Will of God lies; that can only be known with certainty from higher powers. 4th. None of them will give their opinion solidly, without we lay the whole circumstances before them; and if, after all, it should be refused in the last tribunal, it would seem very improper that any of those you mention, or any other, should ever either know that such application had been made, or my reasons for making it; but if the affair be granted, then there can be no difficulty in letting all know the reasons.

“It appears to me further, that the application should not be long delayed; because the view proposed is not a sudden accidental resolution, but of considerable standing, and since it began has been always increasing, as the causes became always more urgent; and at present, the mind is in such a state of suspense, that requires a speedy decision. Your difficulty on this head, I think, can easily be remedied;

because, though it should be granted and put in execution between ourselves and such others as we can trust for a while, there does not seem a necessity of publishing it, till we see proper; and in the meantime we can take all possible measures to get Edinburgh properly supplied. . .

“As for arguments against the plan, taken from the use others may make of it to my prejudice in the eye of the world, they have no weight in my mind, because it is not what the world may think or say, but what *God wills* that I wish to know and act by.

“I shall be very glad to have the Bread-irons when ready; and though they are designed for my own use whilst I have use for them, I hope there will be no impropriety in paying for them out of the fund I left in your hand for utensils, provided there be as much of that fund remaining; but if not, set them down to my own account.” . . .

Mr. Cruickshanks, and indeed, every one who was consulted, totally disapproved of the Bishop's resolution. He nevertheless continued in successive Letters to urge his reasons on his Coadjutor, and to parry the objections started to them. Thus—[Nov. 2]—he reminded Bishop Geddes that “Mr. Misinop was surprisingly well, both in body and mind, till within a short time of his death, and when he took his last illness, there was little reason to think he could long survive.” Mr. Sinit, again, for some years before his death, often spoke of resigning, both to Bishop Hay, and to others; and things went so far as that Mr. Robert Grant offered him a home at Douay.

Bishop Geddes continued to urge every possible objection to his Friend's Resignation; while his Friend exhausted his arguments in the endeavour to convince him of its propriety. November 15th, is the date of a very painful Letter, in which Bishop Hay discloses more plainly than at any other stage of the Correspondence, the mental sufferings which had been inflicted upon him by the insubordinate dispositions of his Opponents. In this Letter he urges the opposition of his enemies as a reason for Resigning; declaring that he knew their dispositions too well, ever to expect peace or rest while he remains in his present station; and as things of that kind have contributed, more than anything else, to reduce his health both of body and mind to its present state, a continuance of the same causes must hurry it with greater rapidity to where it seems posting. It seems

but reasonable, therefore, that he should use the just and well-grounded motives which he has for a change, in the legal and ordinary manner, "to procure a respite for the few remaining years I have to live, in order to prepare myself in peace and quiet for the approaching change." This, he urges, the rather that his retirement will probably heal all these discussions ; "the odious Object will be taken away," peace will return under Bishop Geddes' influence. "They may perhaps still pursue me with their tongues at least, even in my retreat ; but my peace of mind will then be out of their reach ; it is easy to suffer in silence, when one has not to act."

So early as October 19th, the Bishop had prepared a Letter to Mr. Thomson, disclosing his purpose of Resigning, together with his reasons. But apparently distrusting his own judgment, pending his consultation with other Friends, he retained this Letter for two months, and in the meantime wrote another to Mr. Thomson,—[Nov. 19.]—with full details of the state of his health, but without the slightest allusion to his meditated Resignation. It seems to have been designed to prepare the Agent's mind, and through him, the mind of Antonelli, for a formal application to be relieved of his Charge. It indicates, also, that wavering of purpose which is invariably associated with the nervous prostration under which this excellent man was suffering.

After discussing the affair of Principal Gordon very fully, he continues :—

" November 19, 1785.

.... "I must now inform you that my health has been but very poorly all this last Summer. The effects of my fall at Aberlour last year, I felt but now and then, during Winter; but in Spring I met with some difficulties in getting two proper persons settled in Galloway, from the intrigues and opposition of some from whom I should not have expected it, which gave me a good deal of trouble and distress of mind, and this so affected my body that the pain in my whole right side, especially about the region of the liver, became very uneasy, and obliged me to give up my walking; and it still continues so often, and so severely to affect me, that I am of opinion it will sooner or later carry me to my grave; the more so as the physicians here give me little hopes of ever getting free of it; and only prescribe ease and blisters to retard its growing worse. But what is

of more consideration, the faculties of my mind are greatly impaired of late years. Indeed, my memory was much failed before you left this, but has been yearly turning weaker; my ideas are confused, and it costs me a great deal to manage any affair, even of such as were most familiar to me, and which were wont to cost me little more than a glance. But I am not surprised it should be so; the long violent headaches I laboured under for upwards of twenty-five years, and the unremitting application I had to give to such variety, must have much worn out the organs, and have little hope of their ever recovering, especially considering my broken health of body and my age, which is fast advancing. You will here observe, in our common Letter, this decay of my faculties was taken notice of to C. Antonelli; and when you have an opportunity you will oblige me to explain the matter more fully to him from what is above."

In his next Communication to his Coadjutor, —[Dec. 1]—Bishop Hay regrets that the unavoidable delays attending a Correspondence on any matter of importance, are spinning out the time of "this Roman affair," to a disagreeable length. Everything had now been fully discussed ; there had been no haste or precipitation in it ; he had answered all the difficulties proposed by his two Friends at home. Notwithstanding all the reasons that he had on his side, he was far from any feeling of obstinacy in the matter ; yet his own judgment was clear for his applying to Rome, in order to obtain, through his Superiors, the final decision of the Will of God. Yet, as the Will of God was not always in accordance with what appeared to us reasonable, and as the opinion of pious Friends was sometimes a surer way of finding out the Will of God than one's own judgment, the Bishop proposed the following Queries to his Coadjutor, and to Mr. Cruickshanks. Did they really, in their Consciences, think it to be the Will of God that he should not apply to Rome ? Were they so fully persuaded of this, as to be ready to take upon themselves to answer to God, to the world, and to their Friend, for the consequences, if he should not apply ? If they could answer these Queries in the affirmative, it would go far to compose his mind.

If the good Bishop had been at the time capable of forming a sound opinion on the matter, he might have known that his Friends would

naturally decline to take on themselves such a solution of the difficulty ; and that such an appeal was equivalent to setting aside their opinion altogether. He wrote again on the subject, however, December 10th, pressing for a categorical answer to his Queries ; which, of course, they would not send. Again, December 17th, he addressed Bishop Geddes, in terms which must have appealed powerfully to the sympathies of his benevolent Friend, so wounded and prostrate is the state of mind which it reveals. A former Letter seems to have conveyed a reproach to Bishop Geddes, on account of his friendship with Mr. Reid, and Dr. Alexander Geddes ; a reproach which had given him pain. Bishop Hay offers some remarks on his Friend's answer.

"Aberdeen, 17th December, 1785.

.... "So poor Mrs. Smith is gone at last ! May her soul be with our Lord, and may He be the support and comfort of those of her family whom she has left behind her. Remember me in the kindest manner to Mr. Smith. .... I am really sorry that my expression in a former Letter, of a certain two being your Friends, has given you pain. I am sure that expression dropped from my pen without the most distant thought of any such reflection as you seem to have made upon it ; however, I shall be more attentive for the future. But what you add on them gives me some reflection ; you say, 'I am also well persuaded that you might easily have had them as much your friends as they are mine to the full,' to your own satisfaction and to theirs, to their greater good and to that of the Missions.' This Declaration, my dear friend, surprises me a good deal ; it contains a severe condemnation of all my conduct in regard of them ; lays the blame entirely upon me ; and, of course, makes me look very little in my own eyes ; and as I am persuaded you would not have said this, without having the strongest reasons for it, I consider it as a convincing proof of my own incapacity of fulfilling the duties of my Charge, for if, even when at my best I so much blundered in managing my Brethren, what can be expected now, when I am so much decayed both in body and mind ? But this observation fully answers another difficulty of yours where you say, 'I cannot help being terrified at having to take up a burden, which I see you so anxiously desirous of laying down.' Ah ! my dear Friend, I am desirous to lay it down, not from the difficulties of the burden considered in itself, but from my own inabilitys to discharge the duties of it, from the decay of my faculties, from the state of my health ; all which, blessed be God, are entire with you ; and may they long continue to be so. I see now from ex-

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perience, and from the general opinion of my Brethren, that I never had any talent for governing others, and must have much less now in my present decayed state. Besides, I want to lay down the burden, because I see in general such unfavourable dispositions in my Brethren towards me, from my past misconduct, as gives me no room to expect I can be able to do any real good among them, even though I were at my best. The very reverse is the case with you. I seek to lay it down, because from all these circumstances, and from what passes within my own heart, it appears to me that our Good Lord, out of pity to my poor soul, wants to put me out of my stewardship, which I have so ill managed, and allow me the few days that remain of my life, to make up in retirement and penance for my past misconduct and prepare for Eternity. I have then the greatest reason to wish to lay down the Charge, but you have none to be afraid of it. And I am so far convinced of these truths, that did the matter rest solely on me, I should think it a crime in me to continue in my place, and deprive the Mission of those advantages which it may expect from those talents and abilities which God has bestowed on you. Have good courage, then, my dear Friend, if my request shall be granted at Rome, that clearly shows what is the Will of God, and you may, with all confidence, expect His powerful protection. May His Blessed Will be done in us, and by us for ever."

The same day he despatched the Letter to Mr. Thomson, which he had written two months before ; and enclosed in it a formal Letter to Antonelli, open, for the Agent's inspection. The substance of his Communication to Mr. Thomson, is as follows :—

October 19, 1785.

Despatched, Dec. 17, 1785.

"B. Hay, at this time in poor health, and low spirits, suffering under various untoward dissensions with his Clergy, and the Principal of the Scotch College, Paris, had formed a serious plan of Resigning his Charge to his Coadjutor. For this purpose, and in order to secure Mr. Thomson's good offices at Rome, with Padrons, he wrote the Letter of this date, in which he fully states his case. He draws Mr. T.'s attention to a clause in the Letter to Propaganda, from Sealan, in which the decayed state of his health is described. The failure of his memory is of some years' standing, and that of his mental faculties in general, is advancing apace. His long and severe headaches, and close application may well account for nature at last wearing out. Cites several examples of men of the strongest powers at last 'becoming silly and good for nothing,' as Swift, Newton, &c. He is often in such a state, with such confusion of ideas, as to make him fear the same for himself. Is, there-

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fore desirous to get free of those parts of his office which he has found most apt to wear out his mental faculties, and bring on such sensations. This was his reason for not, as Mr. T. had advised him, staying at Edinburgh, and settling Bishop Geddes at Aberdeen. He has also taken a good deal of bodily exercise, in hopes of relieving the mind and strengthening the faculties by such means; but finds himself declining more and more every year in that respect. Whenever an affair requiring attention and application of mind comes before him, especially if it affects the mind sensibly, it costs him a great deal of pain and distress, and he finds his faculties sensibly worse and weaker after it. This Summer, for instance, a case of this kind had occurred. In Spring, two Hands were wanted in Galloway; this made some removals necessary; the difficulty of getting this settled, the opposition he met with from various quarters, and the objections started to every plan, made it the month of August before matters were adjusted, and this preyed so much on his mind, that his health has been worse this summer than for long before; his headaches have been severe, and his memory and faculties have suffered considerably in consequence. He, therefore, longs to resign his 'Superiority,' and betake himself to the care of some private Mission entirely. Has not communicated this idea to any one but Rev. Mr. William Reid, at Aberdeen, who told him that Bishop Grant had several times spoken to him (Mr. Reid) of the failure of B. Hay's memory, some years before the death of Bishop Grant, but advised B. Hay not to be in a hurry in taking any step in hopes of amendment. This Summer, he had laid the case before B. Geddes, at Aberdeen, on his return to Edinburgh. Convinced by his reasons of the justness of his case, B. Geddes had agreed to his laying the case before Propaganda, and promised to submit to its determination. Therefore, B. Hay encloses in this Letter another to C. Antonelli, open for Mr. T.'s perusal.

"He then discusses some details connected with the proposed change. He proposes to reside either at Coneraig, Mr. David Menzies' new purchase, or with the Family of Balquhoin. Hopes that the request is not unprecedented; Bishop York, predecessor of Bishop Walmsley, in England, Resigned his charge several years before his death, and retired to his convent at Douay; but he seeks no retirement from his chief obligations, as long as he is able to do anything at all.

"Six weeks later than the above, he continues his Letter. Meanwhile, negotiations with B. Geddes and Mr. Cruickshanks had been going on, on the same subject.

"The effects of his fall at Aberlour still very painful. Thinks his liver principally affected; a hurt in that region advances slowly, and is seldom cured, as there is no getting at the seat of the evil. Physicians prescribe only ease of

body and mind. May Almighty God direct all to what is most according to His Holy Will, to which I earnestly desire to be ever perfectly resigned." . . .

Adds a *P.S.*, December 17, 1785, when the Letter was despatched.

While awaiting the issue of this last Appeal to Rome, Bishop Hay informed his Coadjutor —[January 20, 1786]—that his memory was sensibly worse, so that if he did not jot down at the moment, what he wished to remember, it was gone in a few hours. His side, however, was better; and he had derived much benefit from wearing a Faja, or Spanish belt, which his Friend had sent him.

Mr. Thomson's opinion was strongly opposed to the Bishop's Resignation, as he informed Bishop Geddes, February 22nd. The Agent could perceive that repose was what the Bishop wanted; and he took care to let him know his mind. But the Bishop's astonishment must have been great, on receipt of the Agent's answer—[March 6, 1786]—enclosing his own Letter to Antonelli, which he had forgotten to sign, and which was, therefore, useless. Next day he informed Bishop Geddes that the Incident had given rise to various thoughts in his mind; some other unexpected circumstances, also, happening about the same time, had afforded him good reason to believe that it was the Will of God that he should go no further in this business for the present. He had, therefore, dropped all proceedings in it, till he should meet his Coadjutor. The crisis, in fact, was past; the panic was dissipated; and from that time, through a course of twenty years' unremitting toil which still lay before him, he went bravely on, without wavering or misgiving, to the end.

The efforts of Bishop Geddes had, in the meantime, been directed to bring about a reconciliation between Mr. John Reid and Bishop Hay, and thus to repair the mischief resulting from the late stormy Meeting of Administrators. But for a time his efforts were unsuccessful. Bishop Hay was suspicious of Mr. Reid, who perceived the Bishop's disposition, and naturally resented it.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Oct. 7, 1785.] With the too frequent reward of a peacemaker, Bishop Geddes incurred Bishop Hay's displeasure, as we have

seen, for making a Friend of Mr. Reid, while Mr. Reid was writing bitter Letters to him, full of blame for "sticking so close" to Bishop Hay.

In the Autumn of 1785, the Chapel on the East side of Blackfriars' Wynd, often called "The Highland Chapel," was completely Restored, at considerable expense; and although the situation was unfavourable, more was made of it than could have been thought possible.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Oct. 7.] It was considered, at the time, to be one of the best Chapels in the Kingdom; and boasted of "a pretty good large Picture," by Meli. It is curious to know that, at the same time, they were only finishing in the Register Office; the middle Arch of the Bridge over the Cowgate, leading from the West side of Niddry's Wynd to Nicholson Street was just springing; there were hopes of a new University; and the "North New Town" had crept westwards, "almost over against the Castle."

Among Bishop Hay's minor annoyances, at this time, must be included a frivolous attack made upon himself and Mr. James Cameron, by his former Convert, Mrs Barelay, by which, although indifferent about it on his own account, the Bishop feared that Religion might suffer. When it appeared, under the name of *Cambricus*, in the form of a Letter to her son, the Bishop's fears subsided, and he regarded the Publication as meriting nothing but contempt. A lady who was labelled in it, however, thought differently, and prosecuted a successful Suit against Mrs. Barclay in the Courts of Law.

In the midst of his own great anxieties, the Bishop could afford leisure to write the following Appeal to a young Student, Alexander Brander, in the Scotch College, Rome, whose courage threatened to fail, on the eve of his taking the Mission-Oath:—

"Dear Sawndy,—Last Post I received yours, as did also your Aunt the one for her. We were both exceedingly concerned, and your sisters were inconsolable at what you write: they had flattered themselves with the greatest happiness in you, from the choice you had made, above their other brothers, and they saw their expectations in what you write totally disappointed; but what particularly hurt your Aunt and them was the dread of what was to become of you: your turning your back upon the service of your God, after so cheerfully and with such good

dispositions embracing it, was not a means to procure His blessing upon anything else you might apply to; and the example of others who had done so and become miserable, distressed them exceedingly. They trembled also for your poor mother, who, they know, would be extremely distressed on your account. On the other hand, your Aunt here is far from being in a condition to support you. She has met with several considerable losses of late, which have hurt her circumstances, insomuch that, after advancing a good sum for your brother, James, she was lately obliged to refuse paying a draft he had sent upon her, so that it was returned upon himself unanswered and protested. All these considerations were very hard upon them, as you may well imagine. But, for my part, I hope things are not yet irremediable, and if you have no other reason for the design you have in head but what you mention in yours to me, I flatter myself that will easily be got over. Had the persons you consulted about your chief difficulty known anything of the matter, they could easily have satisfied you. Know then, my dear child, that your ease is not singular: when God Almighty calls a soul to our state of life, we need not be surprised that the Enemy of all good should oppose it; and when he fears that that soul may be an instrument in the hand of God of doing much good in bringing souls to Heaven, he redoubles his violence against them. I myself have known several instances of this kind; and was myself two different times upon the point of leaving the College, even after I had taken the obligation, from the temptations of the enemy, but I had experienced Directors who showed me the delusions of the enemy, and, by following their advice, with the blessing of God, I disappointed him. Now, there is no time wherein he makes his rudest attacks, than at the approach of the time of taking the obligation, because he knows that that very tie is a strong bulwark against his future snares; and I know a worthy churchman in this country, who, when talking with him on these matters, has told me, again and again, that he was miserably tormented before he took the obligation, but, after he had taken it, had never more difficulty. Now, Almighty God, my dear child, permits such temptations on purpose to try our fidelity, to teach us humility, and to force us to put our whole confidence in Him; but when, with a firm confidence in His goodness, we throw ourselves into the arms of His mercy, and dedicate ourselves to His holy service, He never fails amply to reward us. The virtue you say you want is surely the gift of God, as every other virtue is; but can we suppose, when a person with a sincere desire of pleasing Him, and with a full confidence in His protection, throws himself into His arms, that He will abandon him? No, my dear Sawndy, that is impossible. It is true, indeed, we must use our best endeavours, we must fly the occasions, we must resist the first

motions of temptation, we must humble ourselves before Him, we must long and pray for help, and if we do so we are sure of victory. Consider, then, your present distress as a time of trial. The Enemy, fearing the good you may do, endeavours by this trial to undermine you, to withdraw you from the service of God, and plunge you into misery both of soul and body. Will you yield to his snares? Will you follow his suggestions? Your good God, in permitting this trial, wants to prove you, to see if you be sincere with Him, and to crown your fidelity with His more abundant benediction. Will you forsake His standard in the day of battle? Will you turn your back upon Him? Will you lose all the blessings He is preparing for you? God forbid, my child, you should be so unhappy. Think well upon what I have here said; and remember I speak from experience both of my own and others. *Resist the Devil*, says St. James, and he will fly from you. The day of trial will pass away, but the joy and reward of the victory will last for ever. Apply yourself seriously to spiritual reading and holy meditation; there you will find light and comfort. Remember the glorious end of your vocation, to promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls, and be not deluded with imaginary fears. God is on your side, and if your principal endeavour be to please Him and sanctify your own soul, all your spiritual enemies will be vanquished under your feet. Trust in your God, whose servant you are; but, if you abandon His service, what can you expect from Him? May His holy grace direct you, comfort you, and support you. May His blessed Spirit guide you; and may the powerful intercession of the B. Virgin and all the Saints of Heaven obtain for you light to see what is most agreeable to God, and strength to perform it. I ever am, Dear Sawndy, yours in the bowels of Christ,

“G. HAY.

“Aberdeen, 23rd November, 1785.”

“P.S.—Mr. Hay’s Compliments to Mr. Thomson, who will see by the adjoined the design and cause of it. Mr. Hay makes no doubt but Mr. Thomson will use his best and most prudent endeavours to settle poor Sawndy’s mind, which seems much unhinged, and prays God he may succeed. Sawndy asked ten guineas of his Aunt to help him to London; but his Aunt, honest woman, is not in a condition to give it him, of which Mr. Thomson may inform him. At the same time, if Sawndy persists in his resolution, and actually comes away, Mr. Thomson may give him, as of his own good will, the value of five pounds, as taking his chance of being repaid, and send his receipt for it to Mr. Hay. Having written Mr. Thomson only last week, Mr. Hay adds no more here. May Almighty God direct all to his own glory. 23rd Nov., 1785.”

As soon as it was determined that no change

should take place in the Lowland Vicariate, Bishop Hay announced his intention of preparing an Answer to Principal Gordon’s Memoir, and begged his Coadjutor to assist him with materials.—[March 20, 1786.] Alluding to some unfavourable criticisms on the decision of the Bishops, he remarks, “I am not surprised that some, even of my well-wishers, wish I had not refused to send boys, etc. Nothing is more common in the world than to judge of measures by the events; but the Divine Providence fore-saw these events, and very often permits our best endeavours to meet with harsh opposition, and even to miscarry, for our greater trial. His blessed Will be always done.”—[April 17.] During the Spring and Summer of this year, Letters continued to pass between the Principal and Bishop Geddes, with reference more particularly to the pecuniary aspect of this unhappy Dispute. Dr. Alexander Geddes, who had returned to London from his Literary Mission to Glasgow, before the end of February, every now and then gave vent to spiteful effusions against Bishop Hay, in regard to the same affair. The bitterness of his heart sometimes overflowed on his Friend and Correspondent, Bishop Geddes, who bore all with patience, in the hope of retaining the confidence of either party.

Bishop Hay enters very fully into the history of the Memoir, and of his own Answer to it, in his Correspondence with Mr. Thomson.—[June 21.] The Memoir he describes as “one of the most scurrilous Libels I ever saw, and is nothing, from beginning to end, but a continued series of lies, misrepresentations, and calumnies. I am truly amazed the man could lay himself open as he does. It was sent sealed up to each of our Brethren, in both Districts, with an anonymous Card [Note] written on the Cover, desiring them to read it, and write their opinion of it to the Principal. Several of them, on perusal of it, wrote to me in terms of indignation about it, and considered the Card as an insidious demand, as if they were desired to take everything for granted he said, and form their judgment on that, without knowing the other side; and they wished to know from me how the Case stands. In consequence of this, I have drawn out a Paper, by way of Letter, to my Brethren, showing them to a demonstration the true

character of the Memoir. I thought myself, and others did so too, that it would be paying too great a regard for it, to deign to answer such a piece of scurrility; and that the only answer it deserves is silence and contempt; but I owed somewhat to my Brethren; it might make an improper impression upon those among them who knew little or nothing of the matter but from the Memoir. It was, therefore, judged necessary to undeceive them in this; I am to take it with me to Sealan, to be shewn to such as we can convene there; and proper measures will be taken there to convey it, or the substance of it, (for it is a very long Paper) to all the rest. . . . This Affair is not like to end soon; what I proposed at Sealan last year was rejected; and the Principal still threatens carrying it to Hilton [Rome.] I wish he would; we would get a more stable and fixt decision." It seems that, in preparing his Answer, the Bishop had consulted many old Letters and Papers, and had found in them many curious and important things relating to "the times of our Predecessors." Referring to these, the Bishop continues:—"In the meantime, from the above discoveries, which, as yet, he knows nothing of, we have the ball at our foot; and the more extravagancies he runs into, the more to our advantage. Insomuch that if I be supported by those who ought to support me, I am of opinion that this Affair may have more agreeable consequences than some imagine. Sed timeo timilitatem. Basta."

The Bishop's Answer to the Memoir, assumed the form of a Letter to "His Brethren in the Missions of S[cotlan]d."—[Copy, in his handwriting, at Preshome; pp. 78, foolscap, very closely written. Dated June 16, 1786.] It is calm, and well-reasoned, although still deficient in accurate knowledge of past events, and their secret springs. He goes over the ground already occupied in his former Letter to the Prior, with greater minuteness of detail; and he thus concludes, "Thus, my dear Brethren, I have laid before you a full and distinct account of every step taken in this Affair, and have given you such vouchers for everything I advance, as may stand the strictest examination. I do not ask you to show me any favour, in the judgment you may form of my conduct, and of

the way the Memorialist has treated me; all I desire of you, is to consult attentively the proofs before you, and to form your judgment, as your Conscience shall dictate to you in the presence of God, that you may be able to give me your opinion with sincerity, impartiality, and candour, with regard to any future steps that may be necessary to be taken in this Affair. I remain, most affectionately, Rev. and dear Br. ever yours in Dno Daulien.—[Aberdeen, 16th June, 1786.]"

The Bishop carried this Paper with him to the Meeting at Sealan, this year, and showed it to all the Clergy whom he saw in the North. He found them all so thoroughly satisfied as to the falsehood of the Principal's assertion, and so much disgusted with the insolence of his language, as to make it unnecessary to do more in the matter.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Nov. 4.] The Principal addressed the Bishops and Administrators in Scotland, March 1, 1789, in a milder tone, though still reflecting with bitterness on Bishop Hay's method of argument in the late Dispute. The compromise which Bishop Geddes had succeeded in obtaining from the Principal regarding the Sealan and Deeside Rents, was confirmed, and made permanent; Mr. Gordon engaging to continue their payment as a gift of his goodwill. He added some overtures towards a further adjustment of the Disputes which were still pending. But the Bishops and the Parisian College were then on the eve of a great and final rupture, which was closed only by the ruin of the College, in the Revolution of 1793.

We meet, at this time, with a curious passing allusion to the unhappy Marriage of Mrs. Fitzhubert to the Prince of Wales. The news had reached Bishop Hay at Aberdeen, but "rather in an overly way." His sagacity did not augur much good from it; "May Almighty God grant it may have good consequences; but I cannot help fearing it may be the beginning of what the general wickedness of the times gives reason to dread, from an offended God. I heartily wish my fears may be groundless."—[To B. Geddes, March 9.]

Mr. William Hay, whom it had been necessary to remove from Stobhall a year or two previously, and who had been residing at Banff, as a Teacher of Languages, began to entertain a de-

sire of returning to the Mission, and applied to Bishop Hay for that purpose.—[March 19.] The Bishop's Answer was delayed by his absence in the country.

“April 4, 1786.

“Dear Sir, Yours of the 19th ult., I received in course, but was then just setting out for the country; being now returned, I write you this, in which I must observe to you that it does not appear by yours that you have fulfilled, on your side, any part of the terms of your agreement. These terms you cannot have forgot; they were repeated once and again. I told you I could not on any account settle you at Banff without knowing that the people there, at least the generality of them, would be willing to receive you. To know this, it was agreed between us that you should propose the matter to them, telling them that, *sensible of the past impropriety of your conduct, you would make it your study to give them all satisfaction; and, if they would be willing to take a trial for a twelvemonth, you hoped they would have no cause to regret it, &c.* Then, if this proposal was agreeable to them, you was to desire one of themselves to write to me in the name of the rest, that it was so, and I should, upon that, send you Faculties. But, in case you found that would not answer, you was to let me know, and I would immediately sound the people about Mill of Smithston. Now, there is not a word of all this in yours; nor anything from any other, by which I can suppose the proposal has now been made by you. As for *your acting as supplying for Mr. Menzies on Sundays and Holidays without hearing of objections*, that is no more than you had been commonly doing, all last Winter. Your having been applied to for Confession, by one or two, is no indication of the general mind of the people. Your refusing to Hear them was certainly your duty; as the consequences of Hearing Confessions, having no Faculties to do so, would have been fatal, both to you and them. You say *Mr. Menzies has never appeared*; he could not; he has been confined with sickness; but should not you have gone to him, both for consulting and settling with him, about the proposal, and also for settling your private affairs with God, before you entered upon a charge of souls? In a word, it does not appear to me that you have that sincerity and serious dispositions in this affair, that I could wish; and, indeed, your letter has to me more the appearance of your wanting to impose upon me, than anything else. Think seriously, my dear Sir, upon the matter; consider how much you have at stake, according as you are, or are not, in earnest; make a few day's retreat; beg light of God, and make up your peace with Him, that His Holy Spirit may the more enlighten and direct you, and when I find that your part of our agreement has been properly fulfilled, I shall not fail in mine, &c.”

In reply to this friendly, though severe Appeal, Mr. William Hay again addressed the Bishop—[April 20]—with a request for payment of his debts at Banff, amounting to £17 17s, to enable him to leave the place. The Bishop—[April 27]—declined the request, and again urged his Correspondent to return to his duty, and to the Mission. From what the Bishop had heard from Mr. Menzies, Mr. Hay's settling at Banff was out of the question; but the little Congregation at the Mill of Smithston, not far from Aberdeen, should be prepared for receiving him as their Pastor. The Bishop continues:—

April 27, 1786.

. . . . “But now, my dear Sir, I must observe that in all our late Correspondence, though I, both by word and Letter said some very touching things to you, with relation to your spiritual concerns, I have never met with any comfortable return from you, on that head; and it gives me no small concern, to see you so anxiously solicitous about the pelf of this world, and seemingly so little concerned about your soul. Yet, this does not surprise me, considering the life you had led for some time past, which could not well fail to dissipate your mind, and extinguish all sense of piety and devotion, while it deprived you of those more copious graces you would have received, had you been living in the way of your duty. If, therefore, you be really in earnest to return to what conscience and duty demand, your first step ought certainly to be to make a retreat for eight or ten days, and there, by a serious review of your own interior, endeavour to make up your peace with God, and put your soul in a proper condition to enter upon a charge, *formidable even to the angels*. You will, perhaps, be at a loss for a proper place to do this, as it must be beside some prudent Churchman, who may give you such friendly assistance as you may need; but you shall be most welcome to come in here. I shall keep you during that time with myself, and give you what aid I am able. I beg you will consider seriously upon this, which is of the utmost consequence for general good. I am, dear Sir, &c.”

A few weeks afterwards, Mr. Hay left the Country for America, as Tutor to a gentleman's family. The Bishop knew nothing of the arrangement till he was gone.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, June 21.]

Bishop Geddes continued to pay Missionary Visits at long but regular intervals to the rising Congregation at Glasgow. The third Sunday after Easter, he spent there, going and return-

ing on foot ; principally for the sake of being alone. He had very well planned the result of the Expedition, and expressed his confidence that with prudent Management, a Missionary might soon be placed there. But he ought to have known Erse—[Gaelic].—[To B. Hay, May 10.] To this Bishop Hay replied, by return of post, expressing his pleasure at so favourable a report of matters at Glasgow ; “but alas ! I am afraid we shall not, in a hurry, be able to spare one for that place ; but all is in the Hand of God ; when His time comes, He will provide.”—[To B. Geddes, May 22.]

The early part of the Summer had been ungenial, and fears were entertained that the Harvest would resemble the disastrous Harvests of '82 and '83. “Another year or two like these, would ruin this Country entirely. Indeed, I should not be surprised ; for wickedness is gone to a great pitch in this Country, indeed, and I fear, daily increasing.”—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, June 21.] As Summer advanced the Bishop's health improved, though he still complained of his side, in certain postures ; and though he felt unequal to the fatigue of walking to Sealan, he was now making his usual arrangements for attending the Annual Meeting there. —[To B. Geddes, June 29.] Sunday, July 9, he proposed to spend at Fetternear, always a favourite House of call on his Journeys ; and in the course of the same week he should arrive at the Seminary. When he had paid all that he had owed at Aberdeen, he did not expect to have twenty shillings in his pocket ; if, therefore, Hamburg [Propaganda] money should come soon, Bishop Geddes would bring £10, or £12, with him for Bishop Hay, who wished him an agreeable and prosperous Journey to the same place, and a happy meeting with his friends.

The Seminary had a narrow escape from destruction in the preceding April. A spark from a chimney fell upon the thatched roof and set fire to it, and had it remained a few minutes longer unobserved, the whole house must have been consumed. By actively pulling the thatch to pieces, the fire was happily subdued.

The Bishops despatched their usual Letters to Rome, from Sealan, July 28. They informed Antonelli and Propaganda, that Mr. Alexander Maedonell—[The same who had aspired to the Mitre in 1779]—a Priest, had Emigrated to

Canada, with 500 of his Highland Flock, and that the Bishop of Polemon was residing at his Seminary at Samlaman, on the West coast of Scotland. The Bishops expressed their earnest desire for more Missionaries, but they added that they did not much like the Irish. Their past experience of Missionaries from that Nation, had been, on the whole, unfortunate. Early in September, we find Bishop Geddes in Edinburgh, and Bishop Hay at Aberdeen, having returned thither from Sealan, by a circuitous route.

Mr. Thomson, in one of his Letters to Aberdeen, at this time—[Sept. 20]—informed the Bishop that John, Earl of Bute, and his brother, James Stewart Mackenzie, had just erected a Monument to their Friend, Abate Grant, in the Church of the Scotch College, Rome. It consisted of a Slab of Marble, with a Medallion of the late worthy Agent, and an Inscription ; and its cost was about £50 sterling.

Soon after his return from the Meeting at Sealan, Bishop Geddes, in accordance with a previous arrangement of some months' standing, made an Episcopal Visitation of the Galloway Missions. He confirmed 27 at Kirkeconnell ; 15 at Munshes, and 23 at Terregles. He did not visit Parton, for Mr. Glendouwyn was at Dumfries, where the Bishop often saw him.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 1.]

To the present year, 1786, is to be assigned the publication of *The Pious Christian*, a sequel to *The Sincere*, and *The Devout Christian*. Early in the year we find the Bishop at work upon it, and especially rejoiced at the ease which his side derived from the use of the Spanish Faja, lent him by Bishop Geddes, on account of the facility which this improvement in his health afforded him in the preparation of his new Work for the Press, whenever he could get a spare hour.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Jan. 26.]

Early in March, he had put it to Press ; the expenses would amount to about £40, exclusive of binding ; a sum which he felt heavily in the state of his finances at the time. He therefore appealed to Bishop Geddes to help him by subscribing for Copies. The Volume would probably in size, resemble the first of *The Devout Christian*, and would sell at half-a-crown or three shillings.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, March 9, 1786.]

By the 21st of June, he was able to report to Mr. Thomson, the completion of the Work. "It is called, 'The Pious Christian instructed in the nature and practice of those Exercises of Piety which are used in the Catholic Church.' It is, therefore, an Ascecal Explication of the Manual, and as all the Prayers of the Manual are added after the Explication, it is also a Manual itself."

In his Introduction to the Volume, the Bishop further explains his choice of the Title. "Having, in *The Sincere Christian*, instructed in the Faith of Christ, those who are seriously desirous to know his truth; and having, in *The Devout Christian*, instructed those who are truly resolved to obey God, in what His Holy Law requires from them, in order to please Him, we now purpose, in this present Work, to instruct the Pious Christian, in the nature of those Holy Exercises of Piety, which he practises, and in the manner of practising them, so that they may be of real benefit to him, and effectually enable him to keep the Commandments of God, to sanctify his own soul, and secure his Eternal Salvation."

An objection had been taken by some, to the method of Examination of Conscience under a certain Class of Sins. To this difficulty, the Author made the following Reply:—[To B. Geddes, Sept. 30]— "As to the Objections against the Examination in 6to, all I need say is that I made it my endeavour to have as little of the Prayers, &c., of my own composing as I could, when I could get what was to my purpose in other English Manuals, especially of those which are generally most esteemed. Among those, I always considered *The Garden of the Soul*, as one of the Standards, and the many Editions it has gone through shows the public approbation. I therefore thought I could not be better screened than in taking it for my Guide; and you will find the Table of Sins in *The Pious Christian* is just transcribed from *The Garden of the Soul*. You may hint this to the objector if you please." . . . It is well to know that general feeling has since confirmed the principle of the objection; and that the most recent Editions of *The Garden of the Soul* have adopted the change proposed; and have very judiciously left the Examination of Conscience, under this par-

ticular Head, to the suggestions of private inquiry.

Bishop Hay further discusses the question of offering the Book for sale. Were it for filthy lucre, or were there any other way of circulating it among the people, to sell it would not be altogether becoming. But as neither the one nor the other was the case, and as the Bishop must pay dear for it, if it was to be provided at all; and if it was not provided, the people must want it, what could be done but offer it for sale? It was a disagreeable necessity. He sent three dozen Copies for distribution among the Highland Missionaries; and four Copies, as a present to Archbishop Carpenter.

Wogan, the Dublin Printer, who had been entrusted with the Irish Edition of Bishop Hay's previous Works, wrote—[Nov. 15]—to inform him of the death of Archbishop Carpenter, to the deep regret of all who had known the amiable Prelate in life. The Printer added his thanks to Bishop Hay, for the great success that had attended the Re-print of four Volumes of his Works; and concluded by expressing a hope of his future patronage.

It is not often that we find, in the Correspondence of Bishop Hay and his Friends, even a passing allusion to contemporaneous events of a secular kind. A Letter of Bishop Geddes' to Mr. Thomson,—[Jan. 17, 1787]—is, however, an exception, containing a too brief notice of Robert Burns, who had then lately emerged from his rural privacy in Ayrshire, into the Literary society, and the circles of fashion, for which the Scottish Capital was at that time very celebrated. "One Burns, an Ayrshire ploughman, has lately appeared, as a very good Poet. One Edition of his Works has been sold rapidly, and another by Subscription, is in the Press." Again, he repeats his news to the same Correspondent; "There is an excellent Poet started up in Ayrshire, where he has been a Ploughman; he has made many excellent Poems in old Scotch, which are now in the Press for the third time. I shall send them to you. His name is Burns. He is only twenty-eight years old; he is in town just now, and I Supped with him once at Lord Monboddo's, where I conversed a good deal with him, and think him a man of uncommon genius; and he has, as yet, time, if he lives, to cultivate it." The Bishop

seems to have taken an active interest in the young Poet. In the Edinburgh Subscription List prefixed to the Edition of Burns' Poems, published in 1787, we find many of the Scottish Foreign Colleges and Monasteries, with Valladolid at their head, inserted, no doubt, by the amiable Bishop. The Poet reciprocated the friendly feeling implied in the act. An interesting Letter, addressed by Burns to Bishop Geddes, February 3, 1789, has preserved the memory of their mutual regard. Among other things, we learn from it that the Bishop's Copy of the Poems was at that time in Burns' possession, for the insertion of some additional Pieces, by the Poet's own hand; and that Burns anticipated the pleasure of meeting the Bishop in Edinburgh, in the following month.

The same Letter that conveyed to Mr. Thomson the intelligence of a Poet, "in old Scotch," also informed him that Bishop Geddes had, shortly before, again to perform the painful duty of attending to the Scaffold a young Irish Soldier, who had been implicated in a robbery while intoxicated. The poor fellow, we are told, behaved extremely well.

In the same month of January, Bishop Geddes made another Tour to Glasgow, where he found the Catholics gaining ground. His Congregation exceeded 70 persons. Many of the leading people in the Town had become aware of the occasional Meeting of the Catholics for Worship, and had shewn no displeasure at it. The Bishop also met with great civility from several of the Professors in the University. Encouraged by these hopeful signs, he made arrangements with Mr. Alexander Maedonald, Missionary, at Drummond, to visit the Highlanders at Glasgow, some time in Lent.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, February 1.] This news of progress, in a quarter where little had hitherto been hoped for, was peculiarly agreeable to Bishop Hay, who, by return of Post, gave his sanction to the first Missionary arrangement, proposed for the Capital of the West of Scotland.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, February 3.] At the same time, he discussed at some length the draft of a Letter which he had prepared in reply to a disagreeable Communication just received from Cardinal Albani, complaining of the Youths whom the Bishops had sent to the Scotch College, Rome, and of the Bishops, for sending

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unfit Subjects. Bishop Hay's own feeling seems to have disposed him to adopt the same extreme measures that had lately resulted in an open rupture between the Bishops and the Parisian College; but, profiting by past experience, he yielded to the opinion of his Colleagues, and merely stipulated that, provided the arrears of Spinelli's Legacy to Sealan were paid, and Mr. Thomson were permitted still to reside in the College, the Bishops would be satisfied, and would wait the dispositions of Providence, in confident hope that, in good time, a stop would be put to the disorders prevalent in the unhappy College.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, June 20.]

Mr. Robertson, the recently appointed Missionary in Buchan, had picked up a promising boy, and so strongly recommended him, that Bishop Hay received him into his house at Aberdeen, "not as a Servant, but as a Student;" and, finding him fully deserving of all that had been said in his favour, proposed to send him to Douay.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, February 20.]

A new series of Clerical changes again impending, Bishop Hay thus delivered his mind on the subject to his Friend and Coadjutor—a subject which invariably cost him much anxiety. The objections offered by his Friend to his proposed plan of arrangement were obvious enough; "but such is our situation, and has been for some time past, that I never yet saw, and scarce believe, it possible to propose a plan for that purpose, against which there will not be several, yea, many objections; so that our deliberations are, by the unfavourable circumstances we are in, necessarily confined to investigate one point, *What is the least exceptionable?* and, consequently, when one plan is rejected as improper, to see what other would be less so. I proposed what occurred to me, to know your sentiments on these points, and it would have been obliging, as you know both persons and places as well as I, if you had pointed out what you think less exceptionable than what I proposed."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 20, 1787.]

Mr. Thomson, to beguile his anomalous position of some of its acute painfulness, was busily engaged in his Memoirs of the Scottish Mission. It was prepared from Letters and Papers which he had found in the possession of the late Agent, and elsewhere; but, to his great regret, many of those Documents were partially destroyed

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through carelessness, and many more had utterly perished.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Geddes, Feb. 24. This is a valuable Letter, if those Memoirs are ever published; as are also several others to the same purpose, in this, and the following year.]

A part of the dissatisfaction with Bishop Hay's Government, entertained by the Leaders of what may be termed the Opposition, had been the alleged character, and, more particularly, the inferior birth of some of the Youths recommended by him for Admission into the Seminary at Scalan. At one of these, John Ingram, especial umbrage had been taken; and his case was made the subject of a strong debate in the Annual Meeting of 1785. As the Question involved several important principles, the Bishop carefully noted all that was urged against him, both in public and in private, and applied himself to an examination of the whole subject, coolly and deliberately, in order to lay down some solid grounds to go upon.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, March 9.] In the heat of debate, several statements of a specious kind had been made, and, with considerable effect, especially when clothed in strong language; but much of their weight had been due to the passionate manner of their delivery. After many months of calm deliberation, Bishop Hay forwarded to his Coadjutor a series of "Reflections on the present state of the District with regard to providing and admitting Boys to the Seminary."—[Original at Preshome, dated March 9, 1787. Copy in my possession.] It is methodical and exhaustive, as was the manner of all his formal Writings. The Bishop first clearly points out the difficulty of obtaining Students for the Church, from two classes, which, at an earlier period of the Mission had contributed many valuable Priests; the Gentry, and their Tenant-Farmers of the first class, who had formerly often intermarried with the Gentry. The principal hope of a supply for the Church at that time depended upon the lowest class of Farmers, including those who laboured with their own hands on their Farms. But few could be expected from the small and impoverished class of Tradesmen in towns. Having thus established the narrow field open for selection, as a reason for sometimes taking what could be got, the Bishop proceeds in his careful and elaborate way, to enumerate and to discuss all

the objections that he had heard urged against Students of his recommending. *Inferior birth* stood at the head of them; and singularly enough, Bishop Geddes himself had taken part in the opposition on this ground. To this objection, Bishop Hay thought it a sufficient reply that his Predecessors had never considered it an obstacle to the admission of Students, and that many of the humblest origin had turned out an ornament to the Mission. *Infamy of a Student's near relations*, although, as an objection, entitled to more consideration than the preceding, the Bishop demonstrated, both in theory and from former practice, to merit no more than a qualified regard; showing the injustice of universally rejecting a young man, otherwise promising, merely because some of his family had misconducted themselves. Neither was the circumstance of the Candidate for Admission having formerly been engaged in service considered by the Bishop as disqualifying him for aspiring to the Priesthood; an opinion which he supported by several precedents in the history of the Mission. A final objection arose from the age of the Candidate being considerably in advance of the usual period of life at which Boys entered the Seminary. Bishop Hay disposed of this difficulty as one having less pretensions to weight than any of the preceding. In summing up the whole case, he considered that the strength of the objections evidently rested on principles of human prudence, of human respect, and of human appearance, irrespective altogether of the personal dispositions and merit of the Candidate himself. To speak more correctly, those dispositions were assumed to be good and full of promise, otherwise it would be necessary to do more than demonstrate their absence to secure his exclusion from the Seminary. The Bishop therefore lays down, as a rule, that if there appears in the young man every reason to hope that Almighty God has called him to the Ecclesiastical State, none of the objections which had been made ought to be permitted to weigh against the presumed manifestation of the Divine Will.

There being, however, no positive and infallible rule to guide Superiors in deciding as to the qualifications of a Candidate, Bishop Hay proceeds, in the third place, to investigate certain "Rules to judge who ought to be admitted."

The Church had enumerated, under the name of Irregularities, some preliminary obstacles against admission to the Priesthood; these, the Bishop observes, are all, either directly or indirectly, personal to the Candidate, and they are frequently dispensed with. Yet none of the preceding objections are to be found amongst those Irregularities. It was, therefore, to be presumed that the Church never intended that such objections should disqualify for her Service, a person otherwise fitted for it. The cardinal point of the whole question, must therefore be regarded as lying in the signs of Vocation, or Calling to that Office. And as the indications of the Divine Will in the matter never, generally speaking, exceed probability, and even that varies in degree, the system of training in a Seminary is represented by the Bishop as principally useful for the very purpose of discovering the dispositions, inclinations, and abilities of a Candidate for Holy Orders, and of thus ascertaining with greater probability to what the Will of God points. When Superiors are satisfied with those qualifications, and give the Candidate their external Call, this is all that can ordinarily be decided as to a real Vocation, and even this amounts only to a variable probability. That the dispositions of a young Student are good to-day, may be no assurance that his vocation is a real one after all. He may lose it before the end of his Course, either through his own fault, by accidents which no human foresight can anticipate, or by the mistakes or faults of his Instructors and Guides.

But in the instance of persons who apply for admission into the Seminary at the age of twenty or upwards, it is, humanly speaking, more easy to determine the probability of their fitness for Holy Orders. They are better able to estimate the duties and trials attached to the Service to which they aspire. They have passed a critical period in life, which ordinarily severely tries a Vocation commenced many years earlier; they know their own mind better, and are more likely, even with less natural ability, to succeed in their necessary studies, from the greater maturity of their judgments. The Bishop therefore argues that whatever weight is legitimately due to any of the preceding objections, it ought in justice, and in the nature of the case, to be applied with less rigour to an

older than to a younger Candidate for the Sacred Ministry, inasmuch as the evidence of Vocation was likely to be better established, and to show more secure promise of final success in an older than in a younger Candidate. With more particular reference to Ingram's case, out of which the recent Controversy had sprung, Bishop Hay adds, "When, therefore, a young man of pious dispositions and a virtuous behaviour, a lover of Prayer and pious studies, has an earnest desire to dedicate himself to the Service of God, and his neighbour in the Ecclesiastical State; when this desire continues uniform for a considerable time; when it meets with opposition even humiliating to nature, and yet perseveres, unrelenting, in hopes that, through the blessing of God, it will yet be accomplished, can we expect a greater indication of a Divine Vocation in the ordinary course of Providence? And if not, [*i.e.*, if we cannot] can we be accountable to God for rejecting such a one, because any one or more of the above objections may be found against him? Much more, if it appear that such objections have been greatly aggravated and misrepresented, and falsehoods alleged to enforce them. Now, D.[auley] is fully satisfied that all these conditions are found in the young man in question. He, therefore thought it his duty not to mind the clamour raised against him, which he had so much reason to think an opposition to the Will of God." In November, 1786, no suitable opening for young Ingram having offered, the Bishop took him to reside with himself at Aberdeen, as a Student.

These Reflections Bishop Hay now sent to his Coaljutor, begging him to consider them attentively, and to consult Mr. Cruickshanks upon them. If the remarks on what passed at the Meeting in 1785, should seem too severe, Bishop Geddes might recall what actually took place, and make allowance for his Friend. Bishop Hay had no intention of complaining of what then passed; his aim was merely to narrate the Incidents, in order to throw light on the general subject. "I am too sensible of the advantages Almighty God may draw from that and other things, to be displeased at them; with [on] reflection, however much nature may have suffered in the meantime. And, upon considering the whole maturely, let us endeavour

to have some solid principles that may stand the test, and serve to guide our steps for the future, in this important matter."

Bishop Geddes took ten days to reflect and consult on this Communication, and then exchanged thoughts with his Friend, at some length.—[March 21.] There was no great difference between them on the general principle; although on one or two points of detail, Bishop Geddes still maintained his own view. On those points, his experience of many years, passed in charge of a Seminary, both at Scalan and at Valladolid, entitled his opinion to very great weight. He seems to have felt the apparent anomaly of his disagreement with his Friend on the point of inferior birth; the man of noble, and of ancient pedigree, maintaining the popular side of the question, while the Son of a small and obscure Farmer, advocated greater exclusiveness in selection. With his own characteristic sweetness and gracefulness he therefore prefacing his Remarks on this point, in these words; "Perhaps you may have thought that I have sometimes laid too much stress on what concerns the parents and connections; and it may be proper to tell you the grounds I go upon, in the sentiments I have upon that head. I cannot be suspected of overvaluing Parentage on account of any opinion I have of my own; but I do think it is to be a good deal attended to." While fully admitting the great inequality in virtue, in temper, and in ability, to be found in every rank of life, Bishop Geddes had observed that persons born in very low circumstances were liable to certain disadvantages which it was not easy to surmount; such as "a littleness of mind, a timidity of temper, a vulgarity of sentiment, and too often the grossness of vice." It was also of importance to the success of a Missionary that his Family and near Connexions should be respected; and although objections on this ground might be counterbalanced by other considerations, a judicious Superior ought unquestionably to take them into account in deciding as to the eligibility of a Candidate for the Sacred Ministry.

The advantages which Bishop Hay seemed to attach to the commencement of Ecclesiastical training at the age of twenty, and upwards, appeared to Bishop Geddes to be diminished, by the increased difficulty experienced at that age,

in undertaking a long course of study, and by the novelty of the mode of life. An unusual gift of Grace and of Perseverance seemed to him necessary to insure the constancy of an adult Candidate. It was consonant with experience as well as with reason, that children and boys were trained to the observance of exact discipline more easily than men, whose habits of liberty had become formed, and who were naturally disposed to think the exactness of Seminary life unnecessary. "In this," added Bishop Geddes, "you cannot judge solely from yourself; you had been accustomed to a studious life, and you liked regularity; but you may believe me, to the generality of grown-up men, to be tied down every hour of the day to some fixed task, appears a great confinement, and a kind of slavery, especially if the first fervour should cool." After lightly touching on one or two other points, regarding which an adult Student presented a disadvantageous contrast with a boy, the Bishop concludes—"What I have here said is not mere speculation; it is the result of my own observation, and of that of many others; and hence arises the desire of Superiors of Colleges in general, to have young boys sent to them, whom they may train up in their own way. There are exceptions to what I have here said; but I think I have given the general Rules, which I could illustrate with many examples, but it might be too long, and might be otherwise inconvenient."

Bishop Hay was now contemplating another of his walking Tours of Visitation through his wide District. Although it was not to begin till after Low Sunday, (April 15,) he had settled its details before Passion Sunday. He proposed to take Buchan first, on his way to the Enzie, where he hoped to be about the end of April, and to remain a week. Thence, through Strathbogie, he should reach Aberlour, or Shenval, in time for Rogation Sunday, (May 13.) He intended to spend Ascension-day at Scalan, and to prolong his Visit till after Pentecost. He should then go down Deeside to Balnacraig, and, visiting the Garioch, Fetternear, and Coneraig, return to Aberdeen about the 11th of June; nearly three months in advance of the date of his Letter to his Coadjutor, which announces all these arrangements.—[March 22.] Thus, as he remarks, with the exception of the

work that he proposed to devote to the Enzie, where he had many ties of friendship, and to Sealan, he should spend by far the greatest part of his time on foot, remaining hardly more than two days at any one place. He adds in Italian, as was his custom in matters of secrecy, a scandalous story of a Priest, who had only a few months before left the Lowland Mission. "See here another example of the effects of this ensed spirit of the world, which has got such a mastery over our hearts in these times, and which, if God in His Mercy does not put an end to, will finish by our ruin indeed. Sono stracco; il petto mi duole; bixogna finire."

The Bishop again addressed his Friend, on Easter Sunday, (April 8,) adding Mr. John Gordon's best wishes to his own for many happy returns to their common Friend, "of this great Solemnity." May 5th found him, in accordance with previous arrangement, at Auchenhalrig, in the Enzie. He had hitherto made out his pedestrian Journey very well, although the weather had been remarkably cold and windy, with a good deal of rain. But the rain he had luckily escaped.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, May 5.] Some unexpected interruption called him back to Aberdeen, (May 14,) but by the 23d of this month he is found at Sealan, with a cold and sore throat, but resolved on Pentecost Monday to resume his route.

At this time much anxiety was created by the Proceedings of a body of English Catholics, bearing the name of The Catholic Committee. It had been originally appointed in 1782, for five years, at a General Meeting of the English Catholics, with the avowed object of "promoting and attending to the affairs of the Roman Catholic body in England." The Committee at that time appointed consisted of Lords Stourton and Petre, Mr. Throckmorton, Mr. Thomas Stapleton, and Mr. Thomas Hornyold. Their transactions seem to have been limited to the conception of a plan for the Restoration of the Hierarchy in England. But when they came to consult the four Bishops on the subject, they found such variety of opinion, that the measure was at once dropped.

Their powers expiring in 1787, a new Committee was appointed at a General Meeting of the English Catholics, held on the third of May, in this year. It was then resolved that the

Regulations under which the late Committee had acted should continue in force, and that the new Committee should consist of Ten Members instead of Five. Half their number should be elected by the General Meeting, and the remaining Five should be returned by the Gentlemen of the Four Ecclesiastical Districts, and of Lancashire and Cheshire, as a Fifth District. It was further resolved that they should meet annually, on the first Thursday in May, and that Mr. Charles Butler should act as their Secretary.\*

The prospect of Innovations made many of the Clergy uneasy, and Bishop Hay shared the common feeling. Under its influence, he applied to Bishop Talbot for information as to the Proceedings adopted by the Meeting. The Bishop returned for answer that, much against his will, he had been induced to attend the Meeting; that he had found the Committee full of sanguine hopes for their projects, but openly declaring, at the same time, that nothing should be done without the concurrence of the Clergy. Nothing, in fact, was determined as to their future operations, but the whole question was postponed for a year. From this reply, Bishop Hay concluded that nothing would ever be done, if the intentions of the Committee corresponded with its promise of acting in concert with the Clergy. Bishop Geddes shared the anxiety of many other Catholics on this subject, and gave expression to his feelings in these words—[May 21, Addressed to "Care of Mr. C. George, Merchant, Keith"]—"I am alarmed as well as you, at the thoughts of Innovations among our people in England. I wish they may have a prudent Agent at Rome. I wish there may not arise divisions at home. I wish good old B. Challoner were still alive. I wish for many things. I hope the Divine Providence will direct them. Whatever comes, we must remain particularly attached to the Centre of Unity. This is surely the safest method for us." He hopes that his Friend will receive this at Sealan.

"P.S.—I have not forgot what Anniversary this is. I wish you many happy returns. Adieu."

Bishop Hay returned to Aberdeen at the time appointed, and a few days afterwards sent the Roman Agent an account of his late Journey.—

\* C. Butler's Hist., Memoirs of English Catholics, IV. *Passim.*

[June 20.] He had found many persons in Deeside waiting for Confirmation. After detailing all that he knew about the English Catholic Committee, he adds—Who knows the influence of their intrigues or their plans? He surmises that the conduct of Friends at Rome regarding National Shops [Colleges] had tended much to produce these dispositions. Hence another plan was on foot, to establish, by general Contribution, a School at home, for the Education of youth—the Masters to be chosen by the Contributors. He much wishes that Friends at Rome were informed of these matters, and fears the Affair will end in a Schism, as do many of their best Friends in England; or, at least, that it will produce Divisions to the irreparable detriment of Religion. Mr. Thomson had remitted a sum of Money for the use of Company, [Mission] after his death. The Bishop remarks, “The Remittance, and your destination of it, is no more than I always expected from your public spirit; and had others in similar circumstances always done, and shall continue [sic] to do the same, the affairs of Company would soon be in a very flourishing way. But Divine Providence makes use of whom he pleases, as instruments to accomplish his views, and will reward their concurrence most abundantly. . . . With wonted affection and regards, Dear Sir, yours most sincerely in Dno.”

July 2nd, the Bishop was again on the road, to meet his Colleagues at Sealan, and visiting Pitfodels, Conraig, Fetternear, Balgowan, and Strathbogie, on the way, so as to reach Sealan in about ten days. He hoped to find his Coadjutor there, whom he again wishes a good journey and a happy meeting. The Bishops met, as usual, and addressed their Annual Letters to Rome, July 24. Bishop Geddes thought both his Colleagues in better health and spirits than he had seen them since his return from Spain. The Bishops had the pleasure of seeing many new Chapels rising in the Mission at this time. Huntly, Glenlivat, and Strathdown were each to possess one; and, what was thought a great improvement, all of these Chapels were to be slated—a proof, as Bishop Geddes remarked, when narrating it—[To Mr. Thomson, Aug. 17]—that the persecuting spirit was abated; “but we must confide only in God.” Some months before, Mr. George Mathieson had

been repairing and enlarging the Chapel at Tynet, on the eastern verge of the Park at Gordon Castle, which his Predecessor, Dr. A. Geddes, had begun; through whose influence with the Duke of Gordon, the slates belonging to the deserted Chapel of St. Ninian, were given to Mr. Mathieson for his new Building. “Chapels are indeed going on beyond what could have been dreamed of, some time ago; but the great part of the burden falls, you know where. However, it cannot be better applied, if some Friends would keep a little more moderate.”—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Oct. 19.] From this year, also, dates the commencement of the Mission at Dundee, which had, till now, depended on occasional assistance from the Priest resident at Stobhall, and when, as sometimes had happened, that Mission was vacant, the care of the few Catholics in and around Dundee, had fallen on the Mission in Edinburgh. The first resident Missionary there, was Mr. William Pepper, a Benedictine Monk, lately returned from Wirtzburgh, who had been engaged for a year in private tuition at Fetternear.

Bishop Hay remained the whole of the month of August at Sealan, busily engaged in examining into the affairs of the Seminary. It had not been thriving under the management of Mr. Alexander Farquharson. On a narrow inspection of the state of the House, the Bishop found matters in great confusion. Many accounts were unpaid, nearly all its provisions expended, and the new building still unfinished. His first step was to call Mr. Andrew Dawson from the Shenval Mission, to take charge of the Seminary, and to send the incompetent Master to supply his place in the Cabrach. The Bishop's efforts to put things in order out of doors were delayed by the incessant rains. Peats enough for only one year's consumption were carried in, a quantity, it seems, considered insufficient by provident householders. Within doors, the state of the Books received much attention from the Bishop. They were all put in order in the new part of the Building. Those in ordinary use among the boys were much destroyed, especially Butler's Lives of the Saints, the English Bibles, and Challoner's Meditations, all of which had to be renewed. The first week in September still found the Bishop at the Seminary. Mr. Dawson had entered willingly

into his views of economical reform. Next week he expected to leave, for the Enzie. The subject of Sealan was a painful one, both for himself and his Coadjutor, "yet, in the main," he adds,—[To B. Geddes, Sept. 3.]—"I cannot help seeing the Hand of Providence in all that has happened, as the necessary means to put this poor place on a proper footing for the future. In the meantime, praying God to bless you, and hoping to be assisted much in such disagreeable Schemes by your good Prayers; I remain, &c."

Ten days later, the Bishop had reached Huntly on his way home from the Enzie. In another week he hoped to be at Aberdeen. The expenses of Sealan had immersed him so deeply in debt, that it would require some time of strict economy to bring himself to an equilibrium. Mr. C. Maxwell, the Priest at Huntly, was deeply engaged in his new Chapel, and in want of money. The Bishop thought it likely that Mr. Constable would assist him, if properly applied to.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, September 13.]

He had hardly got back to Aberdeen, when he resumed the subject of Sealan, and its recent reforms.—[Same to same, Sept. 23.]—Since he left home in July, he had expended £70, for public and private necessities. He had now cleared the Seminary of all scores, and his own share in that transaction, he cheerfully made it a present of. Among other "ways and means," B. Hay devoted the profits arising from the sale of his Pills, to the Seminary for a time.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, July 5, 1789.] He now begged his Coadjutor to correspond with Mr. Dawson, and encourage him. He, poor man, was naturally depressed by the state of matters, and could not conceal it, although Bishop Hay had done all in his power, to inspirit him, and render things as easy for him as possible. He had entirely felt the propriety of the Regulations which the Bishop had given him in writing, and which were indeed little else but the Primitive Discipline revived. It would now be of advantage that Bishop Geddes should write to Mr. Dawson, insisting on his spending as much of his time as he could with the Boys, especially during school-hours, at dinner, and at recreation. The Bishop might adduce his own practice in this respect, and

show the advantages resulting from it. The Master might find it somewhat irksome at first, but he would be repaid by the comfort and pleasure that it would afford him, when accustomed to it. Bishop Hay added, in Italian, "You would do well, also, to recommend him warmly the necessity of attention to his own Spiritual affairs, particularly to Meditation and Spiritual reading. He has very good opportunity for such things, and he would be unwise to neglect them; they will bring down the Divine Benediction on all that he has to do, and will render sweet and easy to him all his Duties, doing them all with a view to the Will of God; with whatever else you yourself judge proper." . . .

The Bishop had for some time been projecting a Visit to Edinburgh, to meet Mrs. Heneage, an English Friend from Lincolnshire, who wished to confer with him. In the second week in October—[Oct. 9]—after an absence of nearly five years, he once more entered the Capital, in the Fly from Aberdeen, which, at that time, spent a day and a half on the road. The first two days, of his Visit, he enjoyed the Society of his Coadjutor; but after that, Bishop Geddes set out on a three weeks' Missionary Tour, through Stirling, Glasgow, and Galloway, devoting his whole time, except what he passed in solitude as he travelled from place to place, Administering the Sacraments, Saying Mass, and Visiting and Consoling the Sick. Bishop Hay's Visit to Edinburgh lasted only twelve days; two days before it ended, he was able to assure his friends in Rome that his health had been better that Summer, than for several years before. Alluding to the state of Political affairs, he added:—"The world, at present, is in such a way, as makes me very much inclined to be of good Sig. Pastorini's opinion. If that be just, may our good Lord prepare us for what may be coming, and enable us to act our part, so as to please Him."—[To Mr. Thomson, Oct. 19.] He and some of his Aberdeen Friends had joined together to procure *The Edinburgh Advertiser* Newspaper for the winter, to see "how the threatening Embroils on the Continent may turn out." His journey back to Aberdeen was agreeable and prosperous. As much was thought of travelling 100 miles at that time, as we now think of travelling 1000. Five

or six hours now connect Aberdeen with Edinburgh, and by a very circuitous route; while a traveller, in the same time that Bishop Hay took to make the journey, may easily pass from Edinburgh to Paris or Brussels.

Another curious example of the change of manners incident to the progress of civilisation, occurs in a Correspondence that passed between the two Bishops at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, about this time, on the subject of a suitable residence for a Miss Balfour, a Catholic lady from Orkney, who wished to live near the ordinary Means of Grace. Bishop Hay informed his Friend—[Dec. 10]—who had set on foot the inquiry, that “the Miss Rankines at Aberdeen keep a Boarding-School for young girls, and of course have a very decent good table, and tea twice a day; they get £20 a year for their Board, but then, they have two more in a room, and their coal and candle in common.” As Miss Balfour would require a room to herself, with coal and candle, and necessary service, those Ladies were willing to take her for £25. She would have an opportunity of making acquaintance with some of the most respectable persons at Aberdeen.

The Author has conversed with a lady—[Mrs Arnot]—who first made acquaintance with Bishop Hay, while she was a Boarder in Miss Rankine’s School, in 1782. The Bishop went frequently to pay the School a visit. He would sit at Tea with all the young ladies about him, and gratify them with his pleasant conversation. He would then call for a little Music, and, asking some of the older pupils for their new song, would himself sing it, at sight, with perfect ease and accuracy. All the young ladies were expected to present themselves, on Sundays, at the Altar Rails, to repeat their Catechism. The lady, to whom the Author is indebted for this little memorial of the great Bishop, being, at that time, as well as her sister, somewhat older and taller than the other pupils, Miss Rankine felt a difficulty in insisting on their compliance with this rule, and told the Bishop so. He, with much good nature, offered to hear them their Catechism at his own house in the afternoon of Sunday. They accordingly went every week to his Room, where they always found him in his Purple Cassock, and with a Purple Velvet Cap on his head, and

where he heard them repeat their Catechism, and talked to them kindly and cheerfully.

Bishop Geddes spent ten days in the month of December at Glasgow. He made arrangements with some of the principal people in the Congregation there, to “begin a little fund,” for defraying the expenses of the Priest who occasionally went to Assist them. The Bishop asked nothing for himself, and had hitherto paid Mr. Alexander M’Donald’s expenses out of his own pocket. By next Summer, he hoped that the Subscription would amount to £20. A little Society had been formed for the purpose, and a small house was to be taken on lease, where the Catholics might meet on Sundays for Prayers and Spiritual Reading, and where the Priest should lodge, when he went to Glasgow. This would pave the way for the constant residence of a Missionary. Bishop Hay would not fail to Pray to God “for our success.”—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Dec. 15.] This consummation of his hopes for Glasgow, Bishop Geddes did not see on earth. The advancement of Catholicity there, principally due to the Irish emigration, consequent on the immense development of its industrial resources, he saw, and, doubtless, now sees from the depths of his Heavenly Rest. In anticipation of what might one day result from this little Fund, Bishop Hay rejoiced at the accounts received from Glasgow, and also from Dundee. “Blessed be God.”—[Dec. 22.]

The unfortunate Mrs. Barclay had abandoned the Catholic Religion, and had applied to the Nonjurors, to be received into their Communion. Bishop Hay’s former Opponent, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, was now the Bishop of that Body in Edinburgh, but so much changed by the influence of Bishop Geddes’ mild courtesy, that we find him addressing a polite Note, from his residence on St. John’s Hill, to “The Right Reverend Mr. Geddes,”—[January 2, 1788]—begging to know something of Mrs. Barclay’s character, and of the cause of her leaving her former friends. At this time also, we find Bishop Geddes exchanging visits of compliment with Dr. Webster, Mr. Maitland, and Dr. Abernethy Drummond himself. January 3rd, his Friend at Aberdeen addressed him, concluding by “wishing you, with all the sincerity of my heart, many happy returns of this Holy Season, now drawing to its close.”

To Mr. Robert Menzies, Pastor of the High-land Chapel in Edinburgh, belongs the merit of originating a School for poor Catholic children in the Capital. He appealed with warmth to Bishop Hay,—[January 21]—pointing out the danger to Faith and Morals, under which so many poor children of his Congregation were, educated in Protestant Schools. He had, in consequence, opened a School in his Chapel, where many children were taught Reading, Writing, and Catechism, every day. A general class for Catechism, or Christian Doctrine, assembled on Saturday forenoons. His Gaelic Sermon was delivered on Sunday afternoons. Two dozen children already attended those classes, but there ought to be three times as many, if all came. They paid a trifling sum for tuition, and Bishop Geddes undertook to pay for six of the poorest among them.

With his characteristic anxiety not to lose a hopeful Student, Bishop Hay at this time received another boy, a Convert, into his house, as a companion to John Ingram, both of whom were maintained at the Bishop's expense. “If it please God I live, I hope, with His Blessing, they will turn out as much to our main purpose as those who are sent abroad. But I have not room for more, though ever so good.”—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 25.]

News of the Count of Albany's death, on the 31st January, was forwarded by Mr. Thomson, to his Constituents in Scotland.—[Feb. 2.] The Cardinal Duke, his brother, not being permitted to Bury him in Rome, with the honours considered due to his rank, had carried him out to Frascati, and Buried him in state, in his own Cathedral. The Cardinal also published a Protest, declaring that neither his profession, nor the character he bore, should prejudice his title to the Crown of Great Britain; and that, after his death, the right to the said Crown should devolve on the Prince next in blood to his Family. The Romans imagined that the British Catholics would be gainers by the Count's death, and that, in consequence, all Political distinctions would cease, and there would be but one King and one people.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Geddes, March 12.] Whereas, this desirable issue had taken place some years before, when Catholics in both parts of the United Kingdom began publicly to Pray for

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King George. In fact, the unhappy Count of Albany and his effete Dynasty had, for years before this, been Politically extinct. A few years later, the proud Cardinal Duke, with all his empty boastfulness, was only too thankful to become a pensioner of the very British Crown to which he now, with the barren mockery of departed greatness, claimed the exclusive right. Even the Nonjurors, in a Synod held at Aberdeen, in the Summer of this year, at last resolved to pray for the reigning King of Great Britain.

Self-interest at last effected the reconciliation of Mr. John Reid with Bishop Hay. A project for a new Chapel at Preshome was on foot, and Mr. Reid thought proper to lay his plan before the Bishop, with the hope of receiving some assistance.—[February 18.] Up to this time, his Congregation had assembled in the Chapel at the Craigs. There was also a small Domestic Chapel in his house. It was now proposed to erect a strong and lasting Edifice, to hold 700 persons, to be built of stone and lime, and to be slated. The expenses, on a moderate calculation, would amount to £350. For this sum Mr. Reid depended chiefly on his Congregation. Within a fortnight, £100 were subscribed; and some of the wealthiest among his people promised to lend another £100, till the Congregation could repay them. The choice of a Site was a matter of some doubt. It was at one time proposed to place it on the moor at Pathhead, a little to the eastward of Preshome, but that idea was abandoned. As it was desirable to avoid publicity and a too conspicuous situation, Mr. Reid, at last, determined to erect his Chapel on a part of his own garden, which the agents of the Duke of Gordon admitted to belong to him. The Baronet of Letterfour, in the immediate neighbourhood, and his brother took a lively interest in the Chapel, and were to superintend the building, and contribute to it very liberally.—[Mr. J. Reid to B. Hay, Feb. 27.] The Arms of the Family of Letterfour were to be placed on the front of the new Building, and a fine Monument of the two brothers erected within it; £330 were subscribed in two months, and £250 actually paid.—[Mr. Reid to B. Geddes, March 7.] On Thursday, May 29th, the Foundation Stone of the new Chapel was laid by Letterfour and his brother.—[Same to same, June 2.]

On Good Friday, Bishop Hay set out on one of his little Missionary Tours which occupied him till after Low Sunday. Mr. James Robertson had been recalled to Ratisbon, and Buchan was again left destitute, and threatened with the total loss of Religious Assistance. Mr. Robertson, however, did not leave the Country, but was soon afterwards transferred to Edinburgh.

The place of the Annual Meeting was a subject of anxious discussion to the Bishop. He had resolved no longer to hold it at Sealan, on account of the interruption occasioned by it, in the regular discipline and economy of the House. Preshome, which was naturally suggested as a substitute for Sealan, was out of the question, for this year, owing to the building operations in view there. It was finally settled that the Bishops should have a private Meeting at Sealan, in the middle of July, and after a few days, that they should adjourn to Gibston, Mr. C. Maxwell's residence near Huntly, to meet the Administrators, and despatch their Letters to Rome. Bishop Hay proposed to go by himself to Sealan early in July, for the benefit of bathing in the Crombie, to which he attributed the recovery of his health in 1779. Except Rheumatism, and the fixed pain in his side, he thanked God that his health was at this time in other respects very tolerable.—[To B. Geddes, May 30.]

Mr. Cruickshanks was removed by death, May 13th, at the age of 74. Since his leaving Traquair, superannuated, he had resided with Bishop Geddes, at Edinburgh, failing slowly and peacefully. So long ago as February 7, 1786, Bishop Hay, who had a sincere regard for him, expressed to Bishop Geddes his concern about honest D. Carlos's declining health. "Assure him of my best wishes, and daily remembrance *nominatum* in my memento." On Sunday, May 4th, he had gone as usual to the residence of the Ladies Stuart of Traquair, to Say Mass, and had caught cold. The next day he was in danger, Dr. Spens was called to see him; high fever supervened. On Saturday, all hope was lost; on Sunday night he received the Viaticum, and on Monday morning Extreme Unction; and on the following morning about 6, he expired. He continued sensible throughout, showing perfect resignation, and the best dispositions.

May 15th, he was Interred in the Canongate Churchyard.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 13; and to Mr. J. Reid, his nephew, May 14.] Writing again to Mr. Reid, June 7th, on the eve of a journey to Kirkconnell in Galloway and Glasgow, Bishop Geddes adds: "I miss your uncle much, in not having one to whom I can tell what is communicable. But I was often obliged to tell him that I had been on a secret expedition; and then, he never asked a question. May he rest in peace. Adieu." It must be considered a crowning grace of this good man's useful life, to die in the care of such a one as Bishop Geddes.

The serious illness of Mr. Dawson, now added further complications to the deliberations of the Bishops. All winter, the new Master at Sealan had beenailing, and consumption was threatened. As Spring and Summer advanced, his illness increased. Dr. Livingstone was consulted, and found him far gone in Consumption. His immediate removal from Sealan was prescribed; if anything could yet save him, he must be relieved from anxiety, and have change of air.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, June 23.]

Bishop Hay is found at Sealan, in the first week of July. On his way from Aberdeen he had gone to a place called Brachlach, to see Mr. Dawson, who was then rather easier, but far from out of danger. Even if he should recover, it would be a long time before he could resume his charge. The Bishop found a great diminution of expense in the Seminary, since the last change, and was full of hope that if his improvements were established, eight or nine boys might be maintained on the funds. "This is some comfort, amidst our present difficulties." He had settled nothing as to the new Master, till he should see Bishop Geddes, for whom he proposed to wait at Sealan till July 20th, in hopes of his joining him there, if not there, at Gibston.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, July 6.]

The Bishops held a short, and on the whole a satisfactory Meeting with the Administrators, at Gibston, near Huntly, and thence despatched their usual Letters to Rome, August 3. In their Letter to Propaganda, they informed the Cardinal, that in consequence of the illness of Mr. Dawson, and the deficient supply of Missionaries, it had been determined that Bishop Hay should go to Sealan, as Superior, at least,

for a time.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 11.]

The last Sunday in June Bishop Hay had spent at Fetternear ; Miss Katy Dalzell “sister to Lady Balquhain [Mrs. Leslie] was at her Duties, and seemed more than ordinary serious on that occasion.” In the course of the week she was drowned while bathing in the Ythan, during a visit that she was paying in the neighbourhood.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, August 11.]

## CHAPTER XVI.

1788—1789.

Sealan: its Early History and Present Condition—Reminiscences of B. Hay's Residence there—Tullochallum—Singular Case of *Titius*—English Relief Bill—The Catholic Committee—Incidents of B. Geddes' Journeys—Growing desire for Music at Catholic Public Services—Mistrusted and Opposed by B. Hay—St. Andrew's Benefit Society.

At the head of the smiling and well-cultivated Valley through which the small River Livat finds its way to its confluence with the Spey, the traveller, passing round the base of a Hill named the Bochel, enters a vast amphitheatre, surrounded by hills covered with heather. This amphitheatre is the Braes of Glenlivat. In its south-eastern quarter, about half a mile from the foot of the range of hills that separates Banffshire from Aberdeenshire, is the site of the little Seminary of Sealan. During the times of trial and of danger through which the Catholic Body in Scotland passed in the early part of the 18th Century, the efforts of Bishop Nicholson, and of his Coadjutor, Bishop Gordon, were much directed to the maintenance of Schools in the remoter, and therefore safer Districts of the Highlands, for the preparation of Boys for the Foreign Colleges, and for the education of Catholic children in general. But about the year 1712, encouraged by the temporary lull in the activity of their oppressors, and stimulated to exertion by the scarcity of Missionaries, the Bishops began to entertain a project for the erection of a little Seminary, in a district less remote, where, besides the ordinary purposes which their Schools had hitherto served, they might themselves educate and ordain Missionaries for the superabundant labour. Assistance

was solicited and obtained from Abroad, and the project became a reality. In a retired corner of the Estates of the Catholic Duke of Gordon, the Bishops found a Place in every way suitable to their purpose. Far from any public thoroughfare, secluded from view by a circle of hills, and at that time surrounded in part by a morass, and reached only by a bridle-path, Sealan was just such a spot as the Bishops could have desired. It was situated, indeed, as we are told by one who knew it intimately,—[Mr. W. Reid, 1778.]—in as cold and stormy a place as there is in Scotland; the greater part of the provisions and necessaries of the House had to be brought from a great distance. But it was begun in troublous times; and it was the very ruggedness and remoteness of its situation that recommended it to the choice of the Bishops. The protection of the powerful Family of Gordon was another element of security for the infant Seminary. On a little eminence, therefore, close to the left, or western branch of the Crombie, a mountain-stream that feeds the Livat, Bishop Gordon proceeded to establish his Seminary. He held, at various times, Ordinations there; several valuable Missionaries were trained there; one of whom was called through life “Sealanensis,” to distinguish him from others of the same name. It was there that Dr. Hugh Maedonald, first Bishop of the Highland District, received his education.

Several times during the early history of Sealan, an accession of activity among the “Ministers” against the Catholic Religion, which every now and then disturbed its professors in those days of trial, procured for the Seminary a visit from armed soldiers, who dispersed the little Community and shut up the House. An instance of this misfortune befell it in 1726; but in the course of the following year, the influence of the Duke of Gordon was sufficient to enable the Bishop to re-open the Seminary. In 1728, its occupants were again twice dispersed, in the short period of two months; but with little permanent damage to the Establishment, which was soon again occupied by its owners in their ordinary routine of peaceful study. About the year 1738, Bishop Gordon added materially to the Building; and it was subsequently placed under the superintendence of Mr. William Duthie, a Convert from Protestantism, who had

studied and been ordained in Paris. But the month following the defeat of Prince Charles at Culloden in 1746, a troop of soldiers laid the new House at Scal an in ashes, giving the Students and their Superior barely time to escape to the hills with their Books and their Altar-Furniture.

Nothing daunted by this disaster, Mr. Duthie remained in the neighbourhood, living in a peasant's cottage, till he could procure a shelter for himself at Scal an, which was indeed little better than a hovel. He continued to reside there till his removal to Edinburgh in 1758. The Seminary meanwhile languished, till the exertions of the Bishops who had succeeded its Founders were directed to its restoration. A year or two after the return of Mr. John Geddes from Rome, he was appointed to the charge of the Seminary at Scal an, as we have already seen. It was a Charge singularly congenial to his gifts, although its hardships and privations severely tried his constitution. He found the Students living in a hovel, where we may be sure the interests of education could not thrive. Mr. Geddes applied his energies to a remedy; discipline, study, and economy went hand in hand, and a brighter day seemed opening for Scal an. He had a greater number of Youths in readiness for the demands for the Foreign Colleges than were required to supply them. He by and by transferred his Community from the hut where he had found it, to a commodious House on the opposite, or right bank of the Crombie, and about seventy paces from the bank. We have traced from time to time the changes that occurred in the Seminary. Additions were made to the House by subsequent Superiors, till at the period of Bishop Hay's succeeding to that Office, the last improvements were in progress.

The Author can never forget the day when he first visited this venerable spot. He returned next day to verify the measurements he had taken, and the descriptive notes he had prepared overnight. The sky was obscured by light drifting clouds, although it was the first day of July. As he crossed the moor with his companions and guides,—the Missionaries in Glenlivat and at Chapelton, he observed the secluded character of the Seminary. For without the shelter of a tree, it remains invisible to

any one approaching it from the north-west, till he has arrived within a quarter of a mile of the door, owing to the advantage taken of slight undulations of the ground lying between the head of Glenlivat and the Seminary. Reaching at last, the left Bank of the Crombie, we ascended the stream, to the site of the original Building, which the soldiers destroyed in 1746, and which is now marked only by a green mound. We then crossed a wooden foot-bridge and entered the little court-yard of the later Seminary, about 70 paces from the right bank of the stream. The House is a substantially-built farm-house of two stories and an attic, thatched with turf, and about 50 ft. in length, by 16 in width. We entered it from the court by the only door in the middle of the west side of the House. A narrow passage on the same side connects both ends of the House with the entrance-door. Turning to the left, at the end of this passage, we opened the door of what was "Bishop Hay's Room;" a square chamber, occupying the entire north end of the Building, lighted by a window that looks into the court, and by another that looks down the stream; and with a narrow, light closet attached to it, where the Bishop kept his books. In this Room it was that he Consecrated Bishop Alexander Macdonald.

Next door to the Bishop's Room, in returning towards the entrance, is "Mr. Geddes' Room," sometimes called "The Blue Room." It looks out towards the hills on the east side of the valley, and still bears marks of book-shelves on the walls round two sides of the Room, together with a faded tint of its original colour. Passing the entrance on our right, we advanced to another square Chamber occupying the south end of the Building; this Room was "the Boy's Chapel" in the morning, their Refectory at noon, and their Schoolroom for the rest of the day. None of the Rooms in the House have any ceiling but the wooden floor of the room above, with the rafters exposed.

Nearly opposite to the entrance door is a steep and narrow staircase of wood, up which we climbed to the second floor. At the head of this ladder, for it is little more, we stepped into another narrow passage, running along the east side of the House, and lighted by a window that looks towards the hills. Turning to the

right, we inspected "the Boys' Dormitory," immediately over their Schoolroom, and affording an entrance by a short ladder to the attics. At the other end of the passage, and directly over the Bishop's Room, was the Private Chapel, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. It is a small Chamber, 16 feet by 10, and about 7 feet high, like all the other Rooms, without ceiling, and with the rafters of the attic exposed. It is lighted by a small window, about a yard square, which was originally part of a door, admitting the small Congregation in the neighbourhood to the Chapel by a stone-staircase on the outside of the north end of the Building. The mark of the Altar, about five feet long, remains on the east wall, and above it, the space occupied by the Altar-Piece, about 30 inches by 18. In this humble Apartment, the holy Bishop used to spend many hours of the day, and sometimes of the night, in Prayer and Meditation. It was here that he found refuge from tumult and the strife of tongues, and refreshed his soul by periodical retreats from the busy world.

Leaving this memorable little Chamber, and returning to the passage, we at once come to a door on our right hand opening into a sitting-room and bed-room for a Master, lighted by one window. In this Room Mr. Paterson died, and through this window his Coffin was lowered into the court. We descended by the staircase, and again stood in the court; the north side of it is formed by the original kitchen, which, with an addition, afterwards became the Chapel, for the convenience of the Congregation, by that time grown too large for the little room upstairs; the opposite side of the court is formed by out-houses and by the new kitchen, which succeeded the changes on the other side.

A triangular enclosure on the east side of the House, next the hills, bordered by mountain Ash-Trees, was once a vegetable garden. It is now a green spot. A level piece of turf, extending about three hundred yards down the right bank of the stream, was called "the Green;" it served the Boys for a play-ground, and the Bishop and the Masters for a walk. It is still spoken of in the neighbourhood as the place where the Bishop used to take his evening exercise. The House is now almost deserted, and much dilapidated; an under-keeper of the Duke of Richmond

occupies a room or two in it. The tenant of the small Farm attached to the Seminary lives in the out-houses. We found the Schoolroom used as a store-room for potatoes.

The life at Sealan was not one of indulgence. The Bell rang at Six in the Morning; and the boys, who wore the Highland dress of black and blue tartan, with home-made shoes (brogues), performed their morning ablutions in the Crombie. They had meat for dinner only twice or thrice in the week, vegetables, oat cake, and "sowens" supplying its place on other days. Their breakfast and their supper consisted of oatmeal porridge. The Bishop invariably dined with the boys. In the House he generally wore a long coat, or reading-gown, of blue and red tartan, spun by the thrifty house-keeper, "Annie Gerard." The Author has conversed with several persons who remembered him well during his residence at Sealan; one of them, his own servant, attests that whether the Bishop was at home or on a journey, however early in the morning he was called, he was always found at his Prayers, either in his own Room or in the Chapel.—An Anecdote is related by the same person, in illustration of the late hour to which the Bishop would protract his Prayers. One night, long after every person in the House, as he thought, was in bed and asleep, the Bishop's servant took his gun, and opening the window in the upper passage looking towards the hills, stood watching by moonlight for hares, which often came over the garden-fence, and did much mischief. Presently he took aim at one and fired. The same instant the Bishop suddenly opened the door of the little Oratory, and came out to see what was the matter.—It was only John Cumming shooting a hare!

His reputation as a Physician was widely spread in that district of the country, and, indeed, wherever he went, and the memory of his skill survives to this hour. Not only while he resided at Sealan, but when he used to visit it periodically in Summer, numbers of persons would undertake a journey to the Seminary, some of them from a great distance, to consult him. He prescribed for them with uniform success, and if they were poor, he added a little money to his advice.

At the period of his residence in this remote Glen, several of the Farms in Glenlivat, and

elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Scalau, were occupied by gentlemen, many of whom had retired from the Army on half-pay. On one occasion, on their way home from a convivial meeting, an event by no means of rare occurrence, some of those gentlemen, passing near Scalau, and being considerably the worse for drink, took it into their heads to call at the Seminary, and pay the Bishop a visit. He received them very cordially; ordered fresh Peats, Candles, and a Punch-bowl, with its usual Accompaniments, and seeing that they were too far gone to distinguish what they were drinking, he prepared an "agreeable draught" for them, which had the effect of making them all sober in a very short time! Annie Gerard had to clean up their deposits, and bestowed her customary *benedictions* all the while.—This was narrated to the Author, by Captain Grant, Acharrachan, whose father was an intimate Friend of the Bishop.

The valuable improvements which Medical science has introduced into the treatment of the insane, and into the general knowledge of mental pathology, has led many practical men to suppose that in past times, cases of simple Insanity were often mistaken for instances of Diabolical Possession. The occurrence of such a mistake, however, cannot throw any reasonable doubt on the fact that the Church clearly contemplates the possible existence of Possession; so much so, as to provide in the Ritual, an Office for the relief of such cases, and in very early ages, an Order of Clergy for its especial use. From the extreme rarity of such cases of Possession, and from the imminent danger of deception in a matter of so occult a nature, it has come to pass that this Office of Exorcism can now be lawfully used only by a Bishop, or with his express permission; and the exorcising powers of the Order of Exorcists have long fallen into abeyance. Without going more fully into the subject, it may be sufficient to say that in two instances, Bishop Hay deemed it necessary to use the Ceremony of Exorcism, and in both instances, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses, with distinguished success. Both of them took place at Scalau.

Singularly enough, the sufferers in both cases were Protestants. One of them, a man whom his friends had brought to Scalau bound, was considered so dangerous as to deter those who

had brought him from setting him free, at the Bishop's request. The Bishop received him, carrying the Crucifix in his hand; and, perceiving that the man's friends were too much alarmed to undo the cords that bound him, the Bishop first set him free with his own hands, and then proceeded with the usual Rite of Exorcism. The unhappy sufferer exclaimed that he was afraid, as he approached the Bishop, with whom he conversed in several Foreign languages, although, up to that time, the Gaelic language was the only one that he had ever been known to speak. He was perfectly cured; and both he and his friends became Converts to the Catholic Faith.—This was narrated to the Author by a son and daughter of the late Mr. Gordon of Minmore, who was present, and who used to relate the story when any of his Protestant Friends taunted him with believing in Miracles.

The other example has been preserved with more circumstantial detail. It occurred also at Scalau, not, however, during the Bishop's residence there, but on one of his periodical Visits to the Seminary, soon after the year 1795. An eye-witness, who was then a Student at Scalau, narrated the incident to the Author, nearly in the following words:—[The late Rev. Donald Carmichael, who communicated this anecdote and others referring to the Bishop, in writing to the Author, March, 1853.]—“I can never forget one case which I witnessed at the Seminary of Scalau. The good Bishop, after Community Evening Prayers, at which he always attended, begged our Prayers for an afflicted woman, for whom he was to offer up his Mass next morning. A report went out among us that she was Possessed or ‘Absessed.’ The woman appeared next morning in the Oratory with her husband, both of them Protestants, I think, from Kildrummy. He was a decent countryman, and seemed much dejected. Immediately after Mass, the Bishop began the Exorcisms of the Church, the woman kneeling before him. At first, she was tolerably calm, though a little restless, till he came to the words, *Dic mihi nomen*,—‘Tell me thy name,’—when, all of a sudden, she started up quite furiously, so that we little fellows looked anxiously to the door of the small Chapel, which was shut, or probably some of us would have made our escape. With

the most commanding and majestic mien I ever saw in man, the Bishop ordered her, *In the Name of Jesus Christ, to kneel down*. She instantly obeyed; and several times, when, with similar fury, she again attempted to rise, the same order, given in the same all-powerful Name, and repeated, if possible, with more majestic energy and authority, always brought her to her knees again, until, at last, by the time the Exorcisms were completed, she became quite calm. She returned home perfectly cured, and, many years afterwards, I heard that her husband was very anxious to be instructed and received into the Catholic Church; but I am afraid that his distance from any Priest prevented this."

A case of Possession, by Exorcism, is reported to have taken place at Auchanasy, near Keith. The Possessed was brought bound with cords, and left,—restored to his right mind.

Cases of Imposture have been, of course, attempted—such as *Foaming at the mouth*. The "Possessed" had been left alone in a room with the Priest, and having been tightly garrotted and roughly shaken, a *Piece of Soap* jumped out! This was the cure for that phase of the Disease. All realities have counterfeits; and so here.

John Cumming, who served Bishop Hay for twelve years, from first to last, at Sealan, and on his journeys, both on horseback and on foot, remembers that when the Bishop was not saying his Office, he would frequently talk familiarly with his attendant, narrating Anecdotes of his adventures with the Army, and he often mentioned his father and mother. John carried the Vestments for Mass on their walking expeditions; and, while it rained, the Bishop would bid him take shelter under his own large cloak. When he was about to set out on one of his journeys, he would calculate the expense in round numbers; and, whatever he could save out of his estimate, by rigid economy, became the property of the poor.—[The late Rev. George Gordon, Dufftown, is my authority.] The Bishop was an excellent horseman. A large iron-grey horse, called, in the dialect of Glenlivat, "a blue horse," used to carry him on his journeys when at Sealan. It one day shied at a large mass of dry firwood lying near the road; the Bishop turned his head to it, and by whip and spur, made him leap over it two or three times before he went further.

We learn from another eye-witness,—[Mr. Alexander Gordon, Tullochallum]—a few additional particulars of the Bishop's journeys during his residence at Sealan. It is from little personal reminiscences like these, that we acquire a clearer and more definite notion of the Bishop in his daily life, than even from his admirable Letters. Hence, it seems to be useful as well as amusing to dwell at some length on as many traits of his character as the memory of his contemporaries has rescued from oblivion. Tullochallum, a Farm-house in Auchendown, half-way between Sealan and the Enzie, was a house of frequent resort for the Bishop, on his rides up and down the country. It stands on a rising ground above the left or south bank of the Fiddich, another feeder of the Spey; and is otherwise memorable for its vicinity to the site of the Battle of Mortlach. The Bishop would arrive on horseback, attended by his servant, mounted on another horse, and having behind him, on the saddle, a large leather valise, filled with necessaries for his journey, and often so full as to hang down as far as the rider's feet on either side, and to require a very wide stable door, indeed, to admit both horse and valise at the same time. The Bishop's visits were often arranged for Saturday evening, or the day before a Holiday. Notice was then given to the handful of Catholics in the vicinity, that Mass would be said next morning. The corn-kiln—[Every farm-house had two barns; one larger, and rather cleaner, called the kiln; and the other, a common one for thrashing corn]—was usually fitted up, on these occasions, as a temporary Chapel; an Altar, hastily arranged, was erected at one end, a blanket serving the purpose of a Reredos, and another as a Canopy over the Altar.

Sometimes the Bishop prolonged his stay for several days, Hearing Confessions, and giving advice to numbers of people, both Protestants and Catholics, who had flocked together to consult him on matters of health. His valise on these occasions was found to be well supplied with common medicines, a boon of no ordinary value in a District where a chemist's shop was unknown. The very poorest received alms in addition; and his friends used to tell him that they believed some of his patients invented ailments in order to appeal to his charity. Tradi-

tion says that his remedies were generally simple. Thus, a poor woman, whose lip was threatened with a serious disease, was directed by the Bishop to keep it constantly moistened with her tongue for several weeks, at the end of which, she was perfectly cured. At Tullochallum, as at Scalan, the Bishop was never found asleep, at whatever hour in the morning they called him. He had invariably begun his favourite Exercises of Meditation and Prayer.

Much as the Bishop was bent on economy, he had not unfrequently to correct the excessive penuriousness of Annie Gerard, the house-keeper at the Seminary, who, not satisfied with stinting the boys of such poor indulgences as they were sometimes permitted, would attempt to include the Bishop and his visitors in the application of her too rigid parsimony.

The last time the Author looked on Scalan, he was standing by the Garden-gate at Chapelton, whence the distant chimney-tops of the Seminary are visible, far away in the hollow of the moor. It was late in a July evening; the setting sun made fitful efforts to dispel the light clouds driven by a brisk westerly wind. Alternate sunlight and shadow played on the roof of the Seminary, and ran swiftly up the hill-side beyond. It was a parting smile from the Bishop's old Home for one who has laboured to preserve its Memory from unmerited forgetfulness.

From the plan of the Bishop's Residence at Scalan, several advantages were expected to result. He would be able, from personal observation, to determine the outlay necessary for securing the efficiency of the Seminary; by retrenching all superfluous expenses, he would lay down a permanent basis for future economy; and, by paying a handsome Board for himself, he would be able to relieve it from its difficulties.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, August 11.] He spent a week or two at Aberdeen, early in September, to make his final arrangements there; leaving “the heatherers and wrights at their office,” on the new Building at Scalan, under Mr. Guthrie's superintendence. He was much at a loss for a good Altar-Piece for the new Chapel there, and begged his Coadjutor to send him an *Ecce Homo* which Lady Chalmers had given him, and which had, till now, adorned the Altar “in the little Closet of the back

Chapel in the old House, Blackfriars' Wynd.” At the same time, he communicated the news that Mr. Dawson, the late Master at Scalan, had expired, on the 2nd of September, about 4 o'clock in the morning. It was the Bishop's intention to take Mr. Guthrie's duty at Mortlach on the second Sunday in September, thence to take a Tour in the Enzie, and reach Scalan by the end of that week. He concludes his Letter to Bishop Geddes, “*Il primo giorno del anno sissantimo del suo servitore.*”—[Sept. 4.]

Bishop Geddes had been with his Colleagues at Gibston; and after parting with Bishop Hay at Mortlach, Mr. Guthrie's Mission, he had visited his Enzie friends, remaining among them, till the Vigil of the Assumption. On that day he left Rannes, the seat of Mr. Andrew Hay, in the morning, in company with Rev. John Reid, partook of a fish dinner at Lord Findlater's, and took leave of Mr. Reid at Banff. Thence, continuing his journey, sometimes riding on horseback, sometimes going on foot, he made a Missionary Tour through the destitute District of Buchan, saying Mass, Preaching, and Hearing Confessions at various Places, as he went along. In the Fair at Strichen, his Umbrella was an object of general curiosity. On his walk from the neighbourhood of Peterhead to Fetternear, he passed through Ellon, the birth-place of his old friend Mr. Guthrie. With his characteristic kindness, he thought of his Friend, of the circumstances of his early life, and of his Conversion; and got a man to point out the house of Mr. Ross, the joiner, Mr. Guthrie's old master.—[B. Geddes, Aberdeen, to Mr. J. Reid, Aug. 27.] Early in September he returned to Edinburgh, by way of Dundee, and St. Andrews. On his return, he promised to send the *Ecce Homo*, though he regretted to part with it. He also informed Bishop Hay—[September 13]—that some little disturbance had occurred at Glasgow, on the occasion of Mr. Macdonald's last Visit to it.

Mr. Æneas Chisholm passed through Edinburgh in the month of September, on his way from Douay, where he had filled the office of Prefect of Studies, for a year or two, to the Mission of Strathglass, in the Highland District. An Anecdote of his Visit to Edinburgh affords an illustration of the contrast between Bishop Hay and his Coadjutor. One day, Mr. Chisholm

happened to dine with Bishop Geddes at the house of Mr. Arbuthnot, a Protestant gentleman, whose wife was a Catholic. In the course of the evening, his host took the young Priest aside, and in the most friendly manner, offered him a little useful advice. "There, for instance," he said, alluding to the two Bishops, "are two of the best men alive; but let me advise you to take Bishop Geddes for a model, rather than Bishop Hay. You know the severe things Bishop Hay has published about Salvation out of your Church. I once spoke of them to Bishop Geddes, and hoped that he did not think in the same way. He answered me only by saying, 'That is certainly the Doctrine of our Church.'"

It was now Bishop Geddes' turn to be again on the road. We find him at Traquair, in October, to give Mr. M'Iver, an aged dependant of the Family, "an opportunity of the Sacraments." The Bishop, as well he might be, "was a good deal affected in that place." He said Mass for the prosperity of the family, then absent on the Continent; and chose for his bedroom, the room that had been Mr. Cruickshanks."—[To B. Hay "in Glenlivat," Oct. 25.] Mrs. Heneage had remitted to Bishop Hay, through Bishop Talbot, £50, for charities, "chiefly of the Spiritual kind."—[To B. Hay "in Glenlivat," Oct. 25.]

Bishop Hay, meanwhile, was in good spirits, as to the success of his new plans for the Seminary. He had enjoyed better health since he began to reside there, than he had done for several years before; and more particularly in Autumn, a season when he usually had suffered much from nervous complaints. "Who knows," he continues,—[To B. Geddes, Nov. 6]—"but Sealan may yet turn to be of good service, in place of Scots shop in Rome? . . . . Our present subjects seem all very promising." The weather had, up to that time, been excellent; with short blasts, indeed, "between hand," but in general, good and pleasant. The Harvest had been all secured some time ago; an event which had not happened since the year 1781; a circumstance, which, perhaps, more than any other, affords us the means of estimating the bleakness of the situation in which the Seminary stood.

Mr. James Young, another valuable Priest,  
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and Prefect of Studies at Douay, died, November 13th, "in a pious manner, leaving considerable sums to the Mission."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 29.] December 8th, Bishop Hay's old Friend, Mr. Colquhoun Grant, "was carried off by a fit of Apoplexy."—[Same to same, Dec. 9.] To this intelligence, the Bishop replied in a laconic *P.S.*—[Dec. 13]—"Poor man! *Quid cogitat hodie?*"

The Bishop's anxieties were much directed, during the whole of this Autumn, and, indeed, for many subsequent months, to a matter of Discipline, which was exaggerated far beyond its real importance, as the event showed, partly by his own rigorous habit of regarding the best possible course of action as the only permissible one; and partly by the representations of persons imperfectly acquainted with all the circumstances. The lesson which such a case affords seems to justify a more detailed account of it than its own intrinsic importance would at all warrant. But as it for many months exposed a Clergyman of high standing to much undeserved obloquy, and even at one time threatened to deprive the Mission of his services, and as there may be persons even now disposed to condemn him, the author has thought it best, in the following Narrative, to suppress the name of the Missionary. Bishop Geddes again interposed his wisdom and his charity to avert the extreme measures which Bishop Hay, but for him, would have resorted to.

A Priest who had now served the Mission in a District of Banffshire, for a quarter of a Century, and who had secured the esteem of his Congregation, and of his Brethren, happened, several years before the period at which we have now arrived, to engage a Protestant of rather a better class to be his Housekeeper. The arrangement was very unusual; Bishop Hay, when he heard of it, deputed his Coadjutor to put an end to it without delay. This, however, was not done; time went on; and, as usual, the lovers of gossip made the most of it. Complaints on the subject met the Bishop both in town and in the country; and, as they exactly coincided with his own view of the matter, he at last—[Sept. 10, 1788]—addressed Bishop Geddes, in a most pressing manner, beseeching him to put a stop to the cause of the complaint; otherwise he should be obliged himself to interfere, which

he still hoped might not be necessary. He again returned to the subject—[Sept. 29]—which he discussed at great length, and with a tone of severity; passing from the case immediately under discussion, to the whole wide subject of scandal, given and taken, and treating it with his usual fulness and method. No change appeared in the domestic arrangements of the Missionary in question; the tongues of men and women were busy with his reputation. Again,—[Oct. 21]—the Bishop implored his Friend to act with vigour. Every one said that Bishop Geddes favoured the Missionary, and it was Bishop Hay's opinion also. Nay, he had even heard that many Protestants thought the Missionary and his Housekeeper were Married; and that many of his own people had been thinking of going no more to him for Confession. We shall see, by and by, how far this rumour was from representing the truth.

Although nothing seemed to come of it, Bishop Geddes had not been an idle spectator of what was going on. He had written to the Priest, advising him to defer to the popular feeling, and engage another servant. The answer which he received he enclosed to Bishop Hay, who was much dissatisfied with its tone. He, therefore, once more—[Nov. 6]—entretned Bishop Geddes, “for God Almighty's sake,” to interpose quietly and speedily, and, for that purpose, gave him all authority to act in the matter. Nearly three months more elapsed without anything being done. Bishop Geddes strongly felt that, however desirable it might be that the wishes of the Bishop should be followed, still that there was no case for Canonical interference, or for Censures. Bishop Hay, therefore, who had by this time thrown his whole energy into the matter, and yet shrank from summary measures in the face of his Coadjutor's reluctance, addressed himself again to the task of convincing him that there was ground for interposing Canonical Discipline. He despatched—[January 30, 1789]—a Treatise on Scandal, closely written on four foolscap pages, which abundantly evinced his Theological acumen, and his range of reading and of information. A Collection of his Works would be imperfect without it. At the outset, he tells his Correspondent that it seems to him to be, in fact, espousing the cause of *Titius*, (as he designates the subject of

the Case in question,) to endeavour to dissuade from the extreme measures, which the Bishop thought himself in conscience bound to adopt. He then enters minutely into the whole question of Scandal, assuming the Doctrine as delivered by Antoine. Titius, he observes, may think Antoine too severe, but it was the Standard Work taught at Propaganda. At least, Busembaum, and his Commentator, Sigorio, could not be suspected of rigourism. He then proceeds to lay down their Doctrine on the subject, and to show that it bore directly against Titius. He then passes St. Thomas' teaching in review, quotes the Canons of the Council of Trent, and discourses at large on the article *Clericus*, in Ferraris' Dictionary of Theology—“a much esteemed Work which I brought home with me from Rome when last there.” It is a closely reasoned piece of Argument, hit home very hard, in some places. “I don't know,” the indefatigable Bishop adds, “whether the above Reasons will make the same impression on you as they do on me. I am persuaded they ought, and I hope they will.” He concludes, by asking Bishop Geddes to tell him whether he thinks, *coram Deo*, that Bishop Hay can act otherwise than as he proposes to do, by enforcing a separation, in conscience.

His labour was very much thrown away on his Coadjutor, who, underneath his singular mildness of character, possessed a no less remarkable tenacity of purpose, and steady power of maintaining his own view of principle and of duty. Accordingly Bishop Hay returned—[Feb. 18, 1789]—to the unwelcome task of arguing the point with his Friend. He regrets his Friend's jejune acknowledgment of his own long Letter, his declining to give any answer to the question proposed, which left the Bishop in the dark as to the impression made on his Coadjutor's mind by what had been written on the Subject. He rather sharply desires Bishop Geddes to send him an explicit answer, and to push on “the affair of Titius,” giving him till Low Sunday to despatch his part of the business. Bishop Hay himself intended to lay the Case before the Brethren who were coming to Sealan for the Blessing of the Holy Oils, before Easter, and to take their opinion. He again reminded Bishop Geddes, on the authority of “the mild and gentle St. Francis of Sales,” that there were

limits to forbearance and condescension, when there was danger of offending God. In several subsequent Letters to his Coadjutor, he alluded to "the affair of Titius," again and again conjuring him "to get a speedy remedy applied in quietness, as duty requires."—[March 2, 1789.] When the Ceremony of the Holy Oils had brought several of the neighbouring Missionaries together at Sealan, Bishop Hay fulfilled his intention of asking their opinion in the Case. In order to free them from any restraint that his presence might impose on their deliberations, he withdrew, after laying before them a Paper containing the Case to be decided, together with Copies of Antoine and Sigorio, for consultation, if required; demanding from each of them an Opinion on the Case, as their conscience should dictate, and as in the presence of God. Their unanimous opinion coincided with his own. The Case for Opinion was then sent to other Missionaries who had not been present at Sealan; and in this manner the Bishop procured the signature of eight Clergymen, in addition, confirming his view of the Case. His next step was to send the Paper to Edinburgh, for the Opinion of Bishop Geddes, and the two Missionaries, Mr. Menzies, and Mr. Robertson, O.S.B., who had been lately appointed to the Charge of the Congregation attending St. Margaret's Chapel. At the same time, Bishop Hay gave notice of his intention of writing a friendly Letter to Titius on the Subject, in a few days. "Praying God to direct you to what is most pleasing to Him."—[To B. Geddes, April 16, 1789.]

In the meantime, Titius, who was one of many Missionaries engaged in building new Chapels, had written a long Letter to Bishop Hay, requesting assistance in his Undertaking; which, however, he requested in vain. The Bishop took the opportunity of adding, in the most friendly and affectionate way that he could, his opinion of the course which his Correspondent ought to follow in this delicate matter, "resting the whole on entreaties and observations." He assumed that Titius was aware of the Correspondence of the Bishops on the subject, as Bishop Hay had permitted Bishop Geddes to shew Titius his Letter of 30th January. "I am as much for lenity as you or any one could wish," he adds, in communicating these additional incidents to Bishop Geddes,—[April 30,

1789]—"and I do think, my past conduct fully shows that; and I believe appears too much so in the eye of severals. For, when a Scandal is public, and of prejudice to Religion, lenity must have its bounds, otherwise our Office and Authority is no better than a cypher; and if it goes beyond its bounds, we become accountable to God for all the sins that are afterwards committed."

Bishop Geddes again appealed to the good feeling of Titius, whose Domestic affair, particularly in the aspect which it was now assuming, gave the Bishop a good deal of uneasiness.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 21, 1789.] Titius, however, was slow in replying. To Bishop Hay's appeal he returned an answer which gave little satisfaction. The passive resistance of Bishop Geddes to the adoption of any coercive measures now triumphed. Bishop Hay now informed him,—[June 1, 1789]—that having written a friendly Letter to Titius, and having received an unsatisfactory answer, he had determined to do nothing more in the matter, unless future circumstances should make it necessary. He candidly confessed that he had been much dissatisfied with his Coadjutor's part in the whole affair, and expressed a hope that Bishop Geddes might not have to regret it. To this imputation of error Bishop Geddes humbly replied;—[June 14, 1789]—"I am sorry that you are dissatisfied with my Correspondence on that subject. When one is not successful, his conduct is apt to be blamed, especially by those who do not perhaps know all the circumstances, even though he may be very excusable. I certainly did what to my weak judgment appeared best; nor do I upon examination, see, as yet, what I could have done better; and I shall continue to do what I can, though I have not great encouragement to do so, but from the great motive of doing all the little I can for the good of my fellow-creatures, and the glory of our Great Master. I wrote to [Titius] by last Post."

In Autumn, 1789, Bishop Geddes, happening to be in Banffshire, had several conversations with Titius, but failed in persuading him to gratify the wishes of the Bishops. He complained that he had been harshly treated, and represented that a separation at this late period would have the appearance of confirming idle rumour, as if Superiors had, at last, discovered

some real ground for interfering. Bishop Geddes reported his view of the case to Bishop Hay, —[August 30, 1789]— dissuading him from hazarding a threat of suspension. The Case did not require it. The busybodies in the neighbourhood had grown tired of the subject, although the proceedings at Scaln in Holy Week had revived their gossip a little. The worthy Missionary possessed the esteem of his own Congregation, and had, at that time, thirteen Converts on hand. Bishop Geddes, therefore, on all these grounds, after serious consideration, as before God, deprecated any measures of severity, as likely to be disapproved by the great majority of the Missionaries.

Beati pacifici! It is impossible to doubt that but for the quiet firmness, and the prudent foresight of Bishop Geddes, an excellent Missionary would have been lost to the Lowland District, at a time when such a loss could have been ill spared. As it was, the Affair died away, having, indeed, nothing substantial to keep it alive. After the lapse of about two years more, Titius, having business at a distance, requested Bishop Hay to supply his place for a short time; to which the Bishop consented. During the absence of Titius, his House-keeper applied to the Bishop for instruction, preparatory to her reception into the Church, which was satisfactorily concluded before her master's return. There is never anything apparently out of joint but there are persons who deem it, not, like Hamlet, a cursed spite, but, on the contrary, a most agreeable circumstance that they were born to set it right. If such persons could ever listen to experience, if not to charity, they might learn something of diffidence, and of the habit of deliberate judgment from this instructive Case. Our reflections, of course, apply not to the anxious efforts of the Bishop to remove what he considered a public scandal, but to the gratuitous interference of a class of persons, unhappily never extinct, who beset the ear of Authority with magnified reports of imaginary mischief.

But to return. The first rumbling of the Earthquake, which was about to overturn every Institution of the doomed Monarchy of France, had sounded ominously in men's ears; and as early as November in this year, Principal Gordon applied to the Scottish Bishops, to know their pleasure as to the disposal of the Funds belong-

ing to the Mission, and then invested in French Securities. Would they prefer to withdraw their Funds at once, or await the issue of the approaching Meeting of the States General? Bishop Hay inclined to have the Mission Funds in Paris, as long as the Principal, who must be the best judge, should think it unnecessary to withdraw the College Funds. They should remain, or be withdrawn together.—[December 12, 1788.]

The new year, 1789, found the Bishop at Scaln, in the enjoyment of better health than he had known since his first coming to the Mission.—[January 8, 1789.] It was considered an Incident of comparatively trifling importance, that they had been buried in snow for several weeks, without any means of communication with other places. Towards the end of the month, the long and deep fall of snow suddenly gave way before a thaw, which raised the mountain streams to such a height as still to impede their intercourse with the world beyond. Thus, a Letter which the Bishop had written to his Friend in Edinburgh, January 31st, had to wait till February 4th, before it could be despatched. In that Letter, he expressed the gratification which his Friends' last report about Glasgow had given him, hoping that their anticipations will meet with no “let.” However, *Potens est Deus*; and His time is a good time. Although a thaw had set in, the winter was not yet over; the greater part of the month of March, frost, wind, and snow, had succeeded each other in the possession of that wild Glen; the snow lay deeper and longer than at any previous period of the Winter. As though he had been at sea, the Bishop used to write a Letter, and keep it by him, waiting for an accidental opportunity of getting it conveyed to the Post. Fortunately, the state of the weather permitted the Missionaries in the neighbourhood to reach the Seminary on Holy Thursday, (April 9,) although, only a week before, it had seemed almost impossible to expect it.

Bishop Geddes, meanwhile, was adding to his fatigues by undertaking several Journeys, as it appeared to his Friend, for inadequate ends,—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, March 2]—such as giving Confirmation to a handful of people who might very well have waited till the Bishop's usual Journey towards the North in Summer.

He had, every now and then, to carry the “*B.S.*”—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 21]—to a Miss Park, an invalid, residing at Houndswood, in Berwickshire. He had also acted on Bishop Gibson’s admission, that Berwick belonged to the Scottish Mission; and he had also a constant eye on Glasgow, and other Towns in its neighbourhood, as the Salvation of many souls seemed to depend on his doing so. He even managed to travel as far as York, to see Mr. Douglas, the Missionary there, a particular Friend of his, whose acquaintance he had first made at Valladolid, when Mr. Douglas was Prefect of the English College. The two Friends then travelled together to Stella-hall, where they staid a day or two with Bishop Gibson, conversing about their affairs.

The English Catholic Committee was now in full activity. On the 10th February, 1788, they had presented a Memorial to Mr. Pitt, praying for a further Repeal of the Disabilities affecting the Catholic Body in England. The Reply of the Minister was on the whole favourable. To certain technical difficulties, he recommended delay in their Application to Parliament, till the following Session; and, in the meantime, he requested the Committee to furnish him with authentic evidence of the opinion held by the Catholic Clergy, and by the Universities, with respect to the existence or the extent of the power alleged to belong to the Pope, of dispensing subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to their Sovereign. Hence originated the celebrated Application to the Catholic Universities of the Sorbonne, of Louvain, Douay, Alcalá, and Salamanca, for an Opinion on the point. Their Replies were considered satisfactory by the Committee and by the Minister, and on the 19th April, 1788, it was resolved to prepare the Draft of a Bill for the Repeal of the remaining Penal Laws against English Catholics. Mr. Butler was entrusted with the task of preparing it; and the original basis on which the Committee wished to frame their Bill would have placed the Catholic Body simply in the position of Dissenters in general, without an Oath of any kind.

On the 15th of May, 1788, three members were added to the Committee; Bishop James Talbot, Bishop Berington, Coadjutor in the Midland District, and Mr. Thomas Wilks, O.S.B.

At this stage of their proceedings, much of the mistrust felt by the Clergy as to the ultimate designs of the Committee seems to have died away. We find Bishop Hay—[Nov. 6, 1788]—remarking to his Coadjutor, that application was to be made to Parliament, in the course of the Winter, for some further relaxation of the Penal Laws in behalf of their Friends in England; and suggesting that some good persons might be found to put in a word for the Scotch. Could Bishop Geddes not engage his Friend, Mr. Henry Dundas, to undertake their cause, either in person, or through some of his connexions?

A new complication was at hand to frustrate much of the good aimed at by the Committee. Lord Stanhope, who had charge of a Bill for the relief of certain classes of Nonconformists, advised the Committee to adopt a form of Protestation, framed by himself, disclaiming certain opinions as falsely imputed to the Catholic Body. The Committee met on the 17th December, 1788, to consider the Protestation. Out of deference to the opinions of Thomas and James Talbot, some alterations were made in it, and the whole of it, as it then stood, was approved of. All the Bishops affixed their signatures to it; and nearly all the Catholic Gentry and Clergy in England followed their example. A Copy of the Protestation, together with a Petition for relief, was laid before Parliament.—[Butler’s Hist. Mem. IV.]

The Minister now demanded an Oath; and the Committee was applied to, for a Form which the Catholic Body would take. An Oath was accordingly prepared, as an echo to the Protestation, to which the whole Body had already given their formal assent. The Ministry introduced an alteration, to which the Clerical Members of the Committee offered no objection; and the Oath, thus amended, was printed in Woodfall’s Register, June 26, 1789. It is rather singular, that as early as March 29th, in this year, Bishop Hay expressed strong disapprobation of the fourth article in the Protestation, which he could not see how any Catholic could subscribe, without at least binding, if not denying a portion of their Faith; it seemed to him to call for a thorough re-modelling.—[To B. Geddes.] Two months later, he was full of apprehension as to the issue of the Protestation. “What will Religion come to at last, in these

our days? I am afraid honest Pastorini has too much reason on his side.”—[To B. Geddes, June 1.] At the same time he confesses that he was acquainted with the matter only through the Aberdeen Papers, and he could not have known that the English Bishops had all of them signed the Protestation, and that two of them, who were Members of that Committee, had sanctioned the proposed Form of Oath.

Bishop Geddes seems to have participated in his Friend’s view of the turn affairs were taking in England. As part of the current news of the day, he informed Mr. Thomson in Rome,—[July 5]—that “our English Catholics had hopes of some further relief, this year; but they must wait until another year. I really did not like the method they were taking, nor did I think they had proper persons to depend on; and I was advised by a person of some power and much information to stand aloof on this occasion,—[Most probably Bishop Gibson at Stella-hall]—which I am glad we have done. But things will come about in God’s good time.”

A strong current of opinion had, by this time, begun to set, in England, against the proposed Form of Oath. The Scottish Bishops were privately consulted on the point, through Bishop Gibson, who applied to Bishop Geddes with a request for an opinion. The Oath appeared to Bishop Geddes very exceptionable.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Aug. 30.] Much of the opposition offered to it, was provoked by the designation of “Protesting Catholic Dissenters,” adopted in it, and in the proposed Bill. Bishop Geddes remarks on this designation, that he will always call himself *Catholic* simply, or if any addition must be admitted it shall be only *Roman*, or some such honourable word.—[To Mr. Thomson, Aug. 30.]

Bishop Hay delivered his Opinion thus: “I would never sign the Paper sent by Bishop Gibson; besides other reasons, it includes, in my Opinion, an equivalent to the Oath of Supremacy. I am much inclined to think that some pretended friends, or false brethren, who seem to be at the bottom of that Affair, are only sporting with us, and drawing us on, step by step, to see how far they can drag us. Be so good as write these, my sentiments, to B. Gibson in my own words, with my best wishes. I would have

written to him myself, had I known his address.”—[To B. Geddes, Sept. 14.]

The Bishop reiterated his Opinion with increased force, after perusing a printed copy of the Bill and Oath proposed to Parliament; this copy had been sent to him from London, after the English Bishops had condemned the Oath. “And no wonder, indeed! This convinces me more and more, of my former Opinion, that false friends are at the bottom, and that they only want to drag us on to their religion, or refuse all relief on our refusing such terms. And if they succeed, God help us! But this, I fear, is a natural consequence of the liberal descending sentiments which of late have crept in amongst us. May Almighty God direct and assist us!”—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 30.]

Bishop Gibson again communicated with Bishop Geddes,—[Sept. 21]—and transmitted a Copy of the Oath, printed on the first page of his Letter. Its style is, to say the least, coarse and offensive. A few of its Clauses will justify the opposition which it had provoked. “I do from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or by authority of the See of Rome, may be deprived or murdered by their subjects, or any person whomsoever. That neither the Pope, nor any General Council, nor any Priest, nor any Ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can Absolve the subjects of this Realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his said Majesty; that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Civil Jurisdiction or Authority whatsoever, within this Reahn; or any Spiritual Authority, Power, or Jurisdiction whatever within this Realm, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the Independence, Sovereignty, Laws, or Constitution of this Kingdom, or with the Civil or Ecclesiastical Government thereof, as by Law established, or with the Rights, Liberties, Persons, or Properties of the subjects thereof; and that no persons can be absolved from any sin, nor any sin whatever be forgiven at the pleasure of any Pope, or of any Priest, or of any person whomsoever. . . . That neither the Pope, nor any Prelate, nor any Priest, nor any Assembly of Prelates or Priests, nor any Ecclesiastical Power whatever, can at any time

dispense with, or absolve me from the obligations of this Oath, or of any other Oath, or of any Compact whatever; and I do also, in my Conscience Declare and solemnly Swear that I acknowledge no Infallibility in the Pope." . . .

The English Bishops now issued an Encyclical Letter to their people, dated October 21st, condemning the Oath, and forbidding Catholics to take it. Bishop Gibson received with satisfaction Bishop Hay's Protest against the Oath.—[B. Gibson to B. Geddes, December 4.] Archbishop Butler also informed Bishop Geddes that a late Meeting of the Bishops of his Province in Ireland had rejected and condemned the Oath. On the first page of Bishop Gibson's Letter is a printed Copy of the Encyclical Document issued by the four English Bishops—Charles Walnesley, James Talbot, Thomas Talbot, and Matthew Gibson—dated Hammersmith, Oct. 21, 1789.

Government, by and by, consented to modify the offensive passages in the Oath. Bishop Thomas Talbot alone was satisfied with the amendment. His brother, Bishop James Talbot, being by this time dead,—[January, 1790] Dr. John Douglas, now Bishop in London, and his two Colleagues, refused to countenance the amended Oath, and issued an Encyclical Letter like the former—[January 19, 1791]—forbidding any Catholic in their Districts to take it.

The Catholic Committee, disgusted with the vacillation and want of unanimity among the Catholic Body in general, abstained from any further attempts to alter the Oath. The Bill and Oath passed the Lower House, unanimously; in the House of Lords, the Bishops managed to have the Oath amended to their satisfaction. And thus the English Relief Bill became law, in 1791.—[Butler's Hist. Mem. iv. 45.] At a General Meeting of the Catholic Body—[Jan. 9, 1791]—it was resolved to deposit the Protestantation in the British Museum as a Memorial of "their Political and Moral integrity."

In the various stages of this perplexed affair, Dr. Alexander Geddes took an active part on the side of the Catholic Committee. On the publication of the first Encyclical Letter of the English Bishops, he criticised it in a Pamphlet overflowing with humour of the most refined and pungent description. It may be added that the unhappy differences which had arisen between the Committee and the Bishops, were ultimately

reconciled through the interposition of common friends. They never amounted, it seems, to any want of unanimity on the Spiritual Authority of the Church, and of the Holy See. Yet Antonelli, at Propaganda, complained that Rome had not been fully informed on the transactions of the Committee; adding, that the Scotch Bishops treated him with more candour, and communicated to him whatever was passing.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Geddes, February 23, 1790.]

To return. Horace the Roman Poet ascribes an unusual share of hardihood to the first navigator. We may perhaps find his equal in boldness, in the man who embarks in building-schemes, without estimates, and without a contract binding under heavy penalties. Mr. John Reid happened at this time to be the most recent example of such a man; and, as a matter of course, we find him complaining that his new Chapel at Preshome had cost him nearly double of what he had calculated;—[To B. Geddes, March 27, 1789]—adding, however, to a request for assistance, a declaration that his motto was, "Tu ne ceda malis." Mr. George Grant, minister of Rathven, had just died. He had never acted an unfriendly part towards his Catholic neighbours; when he once remonstrated, as we have seen, with Bishop Hay, he had been forced to do so by the opinion of his Brethren. So favourably disposed was he to Catholicity, that the report went abroad of his reconciliation to the Church, on his deathbed. It is unquestionable that Mr. Reid was much with him in his last illness, and recommended him to the Prayers of the Congregation at Preshome, the Sunday before his death.—[Mr. G. Mathieson to B. Geddes, March 23. B. Hay to same, April 2.]

A new anxiety now occurred in connexion with the infant Mission at Glasgow. A secret enemy had lately had the meanness to send a threatening Letter, anonymously, and purporting to convey the determination of a body of men combined for the purpose of repressing the progress of Catholicity. On more mature inquiry, conducted by Bishop Geddes, on a subsequent Visit, it turned out, as even the Magistrates of the City assured him, to be the act of a malicious person, and not of a combination. Bishop Hay fully entered into the feeling of anxiety. "I am not surprised at your alarm at

Glasgow. I well know the genius of the people there ; I wish it may not be a prelude to more. I hope not.”—[To B. Geddes, April 30.] When the real state of the case was discovered, the Bishop expressed his satisfaction that the late alarm at Glasgow has had no bad consequences ; “still it shews that the spunk is among that poor, fanatical people ; however, we must do our best, and leave the rest in the hands of God.”—[To same, June 1.]

Notwithstanding several Visits to Glasgow, at this time, in addition to his ordinary employments, Bishop Geddes found leisure for a large Correspondence on matters of Antiquarian interest, of Literature, and of general taste. Among his papers of this date, we find Letters from Principal Robertson, George Chalmers, Author of “*Caledonia*,” General Hutton, Dr. John Gregory, Sir William Forbes, Sir Alexander Livingstone, the Duke of Montague, and the Earl of Buchan. These Letters from Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, are replete with courtesy and expressions of personal regard. From a Summary of news communicated to Mr. Thomson,—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, April, 18]—we learn that while the Highland Missions were likely to suffer from the depopulation of those tracts of country, to make way for Sheep-Farms, the New-Town of Edinburgh was creeping westwards. Hanover Street, Frederick Street, and even Castle Street, were formed ; the Register Office was finished ; St. James’ Square built, and the enlargement of the Harbour at Leith had begun.

On the occasion of Mgr. Borgia’s Elevation to the Cardinalate, Bishop Hay addressed him in a Letter of Compliment, adding his hopes that his Eminence’s Successor in the Secretaryship of Propaganda would be as great a Friend to the Scottish Mission as the Cardinal himself had been. While enclosing this Letter to the Agent at Rome,—[To Mr. Thomson, May 6]—the Bishop gave him a sketch of his views and hopes for Scalau. He described the confusion in which he had found the affairs of the Seminary, both within doors and without, and the want of reform in its management. It had been an expensive task to him to put things in order, but by the end of the present Summer he expected to finish everything, so as, with God’s Blessing, to yield a greater return of profit than

it had done for a long time past. Although the Winter had been unusually severe, with frost, and storms of wind, so as sometimes almost to have “blown them up,” yet, blessed be God, he had not passed a Winter in better health since his return to the Mission. This circumstance, together with the necessity for his interference in the management of the Seminary, induced him to hope that his residence there was in the order of Providence, “in which opinion the repeated instances I have had of his Divine assistance in what I have hitherto done, confirms me.” His little additional expenses, in sending to Keith or to Huntly for Letters, were amply made up for by the diminution of his own expenses for Board, which fell far short of what residence in a town had cost him. He had, therefore, made up his mind to remain at Scalau for a time, at least, till he had arranged everything about it as he could wish. The Bishop’s Letter is singularly cheerful and hopeful. His only regret arose from the hopelessness of remedying the condition of the Scotch College in Rome ; but even in regard to that, he would wait the coming of the good time of Providence, to send relief, either there, or from elsewhere.

On the same day—[May 6]—the Bishop, discussing his Summer plans with his Coadjutor, informed him that the progress of operations at the Seminary would detain him there the greater part of the Summer, with the exception of a flying visit to Aberdeen in June, for the Money-term. The late Spring had retarded everything so much, that both the horses were engaged for some time to come, with Farm-work, and in drawing stone and lime for the masons. Bishop Geddes must, therefore, undertake the Tour of Buchan for this term, and arrange his time so as to remain a while in the Enzie, instead of Bishop Hay.

Bishop Geddes, in replying,—[May 21]—alludes to the Anniversary of his Friend’s Consecration. “I have this day frequently called to mind what we were about on the same day of the month, twenty years ago. May you see the like day with well-grounded satisfaction many times on earth, and at last receive the reward of your labours in Heaven.” To which his Friend replied,—[June 1]—“Many thanks for your charitable remembrance of the 21st ult. I have commonly had that affair in view, on

Trinity Sunday, without minding the day of the month." Bishop Hay, at the same time, took up the thread of several preceding Letters from his Coadjutor. He was at pains to persuade him to make a Visitation of Buchan this year, rather than of Galloway, which required it less. Whatever Bishop Gibson might say about Berwick, it had never formerly been considered as part of the Scottish Lowland District, "and it appears to me ridiculous that, when there are two Churchmen within ten or twelve English miles of it, you should be harassed in going there. I never can, and never will agree to that." "For God's sake, my dear Sir, consider how unreasonable it is for you to be taking new and unnecessary burdens on yourself, when we cannot get our own necessary duties accomplished in what certainly belongs to us." They were in want of a Suit of Purple Vestments at Sealan. The Bishop had left in his Coadjutor's care "a suit of an Episcopal Habit," of very good Purple Silk, which neither of them had any use for. He now gave directions that it should be made up into Vestments, in time for Advent. Bishop Geddes, in reply,—[June 14]—after communicating the agreeable news that Bank Dividends continued at 8 per cent., added playfully, that the Purple Vestments should be sent in good time; "but why would you not leave it for me, when I am to make my pilgrimage *ad limina Apostolorum?*" Two ladies from Orkney, a Mrs. Trail and her sister, Miss Chapman, had just been Received into the Church, with Mr. Trail's full consent, and were to return next day to their distant home. Bishop Geddes was to be in Glasgow again in a few days, taking West-Quarter in his way, where Lady Livingstone was indisposed. Her Ladyship and her only daughter, then a child of four years old, were the only Catholics in that family; but Sir Alexander was disposed to be very friendly, and always sent his carriage to convey the Bishop a stage on the way to Glasgow. The Bishop, on his part, never visited West-Quarter unprovided with Comfits for his little friend. So strange did those Visits appear to the Protestant household, that Sir Alexander used to sit in an adjoining room, while his wife was at Confession, in order to show the servants, and through them the entire neighbourhood, that he thoroughly sanctioned the visits of the excellent Bishop.

A curious sign of reviving energy among the Catholic Congregations in the Lowland District appeared this year, in the universal desire to restore the practice of Singing at their Public Services. Bishop Geddes mentions it to Mr. Thomson,—[July 5]—and adds his opinion that it must be gratified, as far as possible, particularly as the people were willing to charge themselves with all the expense of the change. Mr. George Matthieson, Missionary in the Parish of Bellie, who was himself an amateur Musical Instrument Maker, of no mean ability, addressed to Bishop Geddes a long, eloquent, and very ingenious Pleading in behalf of the introduction of Music into Chapels.—[July 18.] Bishop Hay, with constitutional prudence, and with the terrors of former Riots in his memory, had discouraged the novelty. As the subject was to be considered at the Bishops' Meeting, Mr. Matthieson went fully into the Question. The experiment had hitherto been confined to Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and his own little Chapel at Tynet, into which he had introduced Singing, with the consent of Bishop Geddes. He perfectly understood the necessity of obtaining the Bishop's sanction, for the sake of uniformity. The experiment had cost him much labour and trouble; but he had been already rewarded for his pains, by larger Congregations at Christian Doctrine, on Sunday Afternoons. The Chapel was also better filled on Holidays than formerly; he might say it was crowded. The people in general were edified; though, of course, as usual, there were some who found fault with the innovation. So far, however, from exciting the jealousy of their Protestant neighbours, as it was alleged, those very persons were rather surprised that Catholics had so long neglected Congregational Singing. Mr. Matthieson had secured their approbation by prudently consulting several of them, belonging to various Denominations. As for the objection that the Music was not well performed, that must depend very much on the taste and the judgment of the audience. He was of opinion that it would not be a very hard task to perform it as well as their Presbyterian neighbours of the Church of Scotland. On all these grounds, he hoped for the full sanction of the Bishops.

Mr. James Robertson, O.S.B., now settled in Edinburgh, in like manner assured Bishop

Geddes, that his opinion was more and more confirmed that the introduction of Music into the larger Congregations was both practicable and desirable. To the same purpose, Mr. John Gordon, Missionary at Aberdeen, communicated his views to his uncle Bishop Geddes.—[July 25.] He had received a Letter from Bishop Hay, which had taken him by surprise ; in it the Bishop had declared his Opinion thus, “There is a necessity of putting an immediate stop to it everywhere ;” but without assigning any reasons for so general and so absolute a Command. The Bishop, indeed, had proceeded to express, in the strongest terms, the happiness it would give him to see Music introduced into their Chapels, were circumstances such as to render it advisable ; he had promised to encourage it, if it could be conducted with propriety and decency. Mr. Gordon, on the present occasion, apprehended bad consequences from suddenly abandoning the practice which had been once introduced. In a previous discussion with his Uncle, Bishop Geddes had declared his hope to live long enough to see Singing extended over the greater part of Scotland ; and had reminded his Nephew of the exhortations he used to give his Students at Valladolid, on attention to Music, and how he had given his Nephew a friendly reproof, while in Spain, for neglecting it. Mr. Menzies had began the practice of Singing in his Chapel, at Bishop Geddes’ own door ; nay it had been adopted in the Bishop’s own Chapel of St. Margaret. Why, then, Mr. Gordon asked, with some indignant warmth, had Bishop Hay denounced the Singing of *Te Deum* for his Majesty’s recovery, as an Innovation in the Service of God, and in the public Discipline of the Church ? Why had he accused Mr. Gordon of sin in the sight of God ?

Mr. Thomson, again, who saw everything, as we might say, through Bishop Hay’s spectacles, and who, moreover, was too far distant to form an independent opinion on the merits of the Question, maintained it to be a mere whim of the Scottish Catholics, to wish for Music in their Chapels ; a thing which ought to be the last to be thought of.—[To B. Geddes, Aug 1.]

The Bishops’ Meeting, this year, at Sealan, consisted only of Bishop Hay and his Coadjutor, “Mr. Polemon,” who was enlarging his Seminary at Samllaman in the West Highlands, hav-

ing slipped his foot and inflicted an injury on his leg, which confined him at home. Bishop Geddes, on his way from Edinburgh to the meeting, had visited Miss Drummond at Balloch, and had given Confirmation at Stobhall ; reaching the Seminary about the middle of July. He remained with his Friend till the end of the month. At Stobhall, he had, among others, Confirmed a substantial Farmer from Stormont, of the name of Carmichael, a Convert, together with his wife, his four sons, and his two daughters—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 25.] One of the sons was the late Rev. Donald Carmichael, many years Procurator at Blairs College, and who died at a good old age, in the Mission of Peterhead, a few years ago.

At the close of the Meeting, Bishop Hay sent Mr. Thomson, as usual, a summary of the local News.—[July 28.] Boys were again to be refused for the Scotch College in Rome, until some security could be given for a reform in that Establishment. Sealan, thank God, promised yet to turn out well ; but he had laid his account with spending the next five years there, “ barring accidents.” It would be three years before any supply of young Missionaries could be expected ; and before any of his Seminary boys would be called for by a Foreign College. But he had hopes, in the meantime, of advancing the Studies of some of them beyond what was usually attained by boys destined only for a short residence in the Seminary. For this purpose, the Bishop gave Mr. Thomson a Commission to purchase and send him some necessary books ; such as, *De Colonia de arte Rhetorica*, Cicero’s Epistles, Minelli’s, if possible ; Storghenan’s *Instituta Logice et Metaphysica* ; and any other suitable Work in Latin, History, or Philosophy. Perhaps Cardinal Antonelli would send him some from Propaganda. The Summer, in the neighbourhood of Sealan, had been very rainy. Unless an improvement were soon to take place, there would be little grain ripened, and no peats to be had. The mercury however, had been rising for the last twenty-four hours, and there seemed a prospect of a change ; so they should hope for the best, and trust in God. There had been terrific storms of thunder and rain, at Banff, Keith, and Elgin, and some lives had been lost. “Crombie, on Thursday was eight days, after a short but

heavy rain in Cairndonlach and downwards, rose higher in a few hours than had been remembered by anybody in the place. We, different times, heard a good deal of thunder over the hills, but none, as yet, in this country." The Bishop's health, however, continued good. He reminded the Agent that his Roman Faculties would expire the following year. They had been granted to the Bishop, September 12, 1784, for six years.

Mr. Thomson's comments on the incipient Revolution in France are curious, both for the guess which he thus early hazards, as to the final result, and for the total inadequacy of the Cause which he assigns for the dissolution of order.—[To B. Geddes, August 1.] "All order in France is at an end ; a Civil War has begun ; the King has lost all authority ; his person is scarcely safe. He has brought it all on himself by restoring the Parliaments, at the beginning of his reign, by the mismanagement of his Finances, by his unsteady conduct of late, and by his calling together the States-General. A Revolution will be the consequence, and I wish they may not renew the tragedy of Charles I. Our last news from thence contained most violent outrages of the people at Paris." Those ominous predictions were uttered at a time when many eminent Statesmen and Patriots in England were exulting over the fall of the Bastile, and the extinction of despotism. From whatever cause, however, Mr. Thomson evinced more sagacity in this matter than Edmund Burke himself, whose eyes were not opened to the tragedy then in progress, until the disastrous return of the miserable King from Versailles, in the custody of the Parisian mob.

Bishop Geddes, after leaving Sealan, had visited his old Congregation at Shenvale ; and thence, by Aberlour and Kempeairn, he found his way to the Enzie. The slaters were busy on the New Chapel at Preshome. Lord Findlater, had made it a present of a beautiful Painting of St. Gregory the Great, sent from Italy by a Mr. Morrison, and first framed in London.\* Mr.

Hay of Rannes, Bishop Hay's kinsman, had just sold his Estate to the Earl of Findlater ; thus clearing off the debt from his other Estate of Leithhall, which was to go to his Nephew, and exchange its own name for Rannes. From the Enzie, Bishop Geddes proceeded on his Tour, by Cullen and Banff, and through Buchan to Aberdeen ; thence he passed, early in September, to Conraig, Fetternear, and Balnacraig ; and over the Grampians to Monboddo, Montrose, Dundee, Kinnethy and Belmont Castle, finishing his Journey about the middle of the month. — [B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 25; and to B. Hay, Aug. 30.]

A new alarm occurred at Stobhall. On the night between the 18th and 19th of August, Mr. Macpherson's new Chapel was set on fire by an Incendiary, to gratify private malice, as it was shrewdly suspected. The Priest's servant and another man were awake by the smoke ; they gave the alarm, roused Mr. Macpherson and called in the neighbours. Some of these cheerfully assisted in extinguishing the flames ; others of them stood by, or passed on without any concern. Providentially, it was a calm night, otherwise the whole premises must have been consumed. As it was, the fire was subdued, with the loss of the thatch only on one side of the Chapel.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Aug. 27.] "This proves," added the Bishop, "to a demonstration, that the spark is still alive, and how cautious we ought to be, not to take any step that might excite it ; and on that account confirms me entirely in the joint resolution we took here, of putting a stop to the Singing-Scheme, which I entreat you to see executed without delay, wherever you find the ease."

At the Bishops' Meeting, in the preceding month, it had been concluded against Music in Chapels. But the "Singing-Scheme," was not destined to die out without a little noise. Mr. Robertson informed Bishop Geddes — [Aug. 13] — that the orders relative to Music had been received with all due submission ; but it was impossible all at once to get rid of their teacher. His Friend, Mr. Menzies, on the other side of the

\* This exquisite Painting, a masterpiece of one of the Caracci, represents the Saint kneeling, and surrounded by Angels. One of them presents him to some Personage out of the picture, probably the B. Virgin. In design and execution, both as to form and colour, this Work of Art is nearly perfect. It refreshes and satisfies the most fastid

ous eye, as a sequence of exquisite and harmonious melody charms the ear of a musician. As it is fixed over the Altar, the Saint's face and figure are turned full towards the Congregation, his arms raised and slightly extended, in Prayer and Adoration.

way, had some hopes of a revocation of the Edict against Music; he, for his part, had none. But, as it had been confided to the prudence of each Missionary, he intended "to let it dwindle away gradually, rather than stop slap-dash." To Mr. Menzies and his Highland Congregation in St. Andrew's Chapel, the introduction of the popular Air, *Adlest Fideles*, at Christmas, into Scotland, is said to be due. It speedily became a *furore* in the town; apprentice lads whistled it in every street; the very Blackbirds in the Squares joined in the Chorus, it was said. Curiously enough, this Catholic Air is now to be found in nearly every Collection of Presbyterian Church Music, under the name of *The Portuguese Hymn*.

Bishop Hay, in laying in Winter stores for his Seminary, gave a Commission to his Coadjutor to send him an English and Italian Dictionary, a Kelso newspaper called *The Union*, and three or four good Shuttlecocks, for exercise for his boys in the winter season, and two Battle-doors. —[Sept. 14.] Mr. Thomson was a little afraid that the climate of Sealand might be too severe for the Bishop. "Bishop Gordon, indeed, resided there frequently, towards the latter end of his life, but only to retire from the hurry of business, and enjoy a little respite from his Apostolical labours. He chose that Place, because he had been the Founder of it, and always had a particular attachment to it, and treated it as his darling." —[To B. Hay, September 18.] A Friend of Bishop Hay's in Rome, had requested the Agent to ascertain what Books or other things the Bishop would like to have for his own private use, that this good Friend (whom we know to have been a Mr. Waters) might have the pleasure of sending them to him.

The Mission lost the services of another Priest this Autumn, in Mr. James Cameron, who, strangely enough, was also one of Bishop Hay's most caustic Censors. His mind became affected, and after wandering about the country for several months, it was arranged that he should reside with Mr. Maepherson, at Stobhall. —[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Oct. 17.]

The next autumn much retarded the Harvest operations at the Seminary, and the completion of the new buildings. Since Bishop Geddes' departure, there had been no fewer than four Speats, or sudden risings in the Crombie, much

larger than that which had occurred during his visit. Bishop Hay was, in consequence, prevented from going to the Enzie, as he had intended. —[B. Hay to B. Geddes, October 17.] When mentioning these little incidents to his Friend, he added that they hoped that afternoon to finish their shearing, [reaping] if it kept dry; but all their grain was still out, and soaked in water, except a little "bear." "When it will be dry and gotten in, God only knows." Such were some of the lesser anxieties of the Seminary in those days.

From the enumeration of the Books and Implements sent at this time to the Seminary, from Edinburgh, we may gather the nature of the studies that occupied the Bishop and his elder pupils. —[B. Geddes to B. Hay, October 24.] We find among them, for example, Altieri's Italian and English Dictionary, Schrevelius' Lexicon, Eachard's Classical Dictionary, Knox's History of Scotland, Goldsmith's History of Rome; and two Copies of a Translation of the Mass, lately made by Mr. Robertson, Missionary in Edinburgh; Buchan's Medicine was soon to appear in a new Edition, when it would be sent. Besides, these Books, we find a Gunter's Scale, a Terrestrial Globe, four or five Shuttlecocks, and a Ring-Dial, or Astronomical Ring, of Bishop Geddes' own manufacture; which he takes care to describe as designed for the Old Style. It was probably, therefore, a memorial of his Roman studies. The Purple Vestments were included in the same package. Bishop Geddes further informed his Friend that the Faculties had not yet been printed; would he recommend that their form should be limited "till they are recalled," or to a certain number of years, say two or three? He, himself, inclined to the former method. On very serious consideration, also, he entreated Bishop Hay to permit the Singing of some Hymns at Edinburgh and at Aberdeen, on Sunday Afternoons. His reasons he would give another time.

A long Letter from Bishop Hay to Mr. Thomson, at Rome, furnishes a good commentary on passing Events, written in the Bishop's happiest mood. —

"Sealand, 2 Nov., 1789.

"Dear Sir,—Your Honour of the 18th Sept., I received only last Post; and, I suppose, before this reaches you, you will have received,

under cover from Mr. Geddes, a Letter to Mr. Alban, in answer to one I received from him a few weeks ago. His answer, both to common Letter of 1788, and to my own to himself of 6th May that year, were both very polite. He takes nowise amiss my having told him the truth, but desires me to do so always; and you will see by my answer to him what you may expect about boys. When I came to this place and had got a thorough knowledge of its past and then present situation, I found it had been mismanaged, both as to its external and internal, beyond what you can imagine, and that little good could be expected from it without a thorough reformation in both respects; at the same time I saw, that if upon a proper footing, it might be made to turn out to much more account than ever it had hitherto done. This, therefore, I resolved, if God Almighty gives me days with his assistance to effectuate; but this must take some time, and, till that be done, I must fix my residence here, if necessity does not call me elsewhere. Matters have hitherto succeeded beyond my expectation, by the unthought-of help which Providence has afforded me to do so, and which gives me ground to hope that He approves my design. As two boys will be sent from this to you in Spring, (if I can get their parents to agree to it,) I shall refer to them to give you an account of the external reform; other matters will not be so soon ready for communication. I am certainly much obliged to that unknown Friend, whose kind offer you make known to me—another instance of the goodness of Providence, to whom be all the praise. I beg you to say everything that is kind and grateful to him from me, and I pray God to reward his charity. I have been thinking once and again how to comply with his request, but, to tell you the truth, I am at a loss how to do it. I am now advanced in years, and, through the goodness of God, am amply supplied with as much of this world as I could wish. Next to the duties of my state, and the care of these children, which is a very agreeable amusement to me, I have nothing else to apply to, but to prepare for the change which is daily approaching, and my present situation is as much adapted to that as any other place I could be in in the whole Mission. However, that I may not seem to disregard my Friend's kindness, I shall mention three things. In the first place, I beg he will give me a particular remembrance in his Prayers, particularly at the Holy Altar. Secondly, If he would send me a correct Edition, in Italian, of S. Theresa's Works, it would be most acceptable. And, third, A few books of any kind, which you or he judge would be of service for the education of youth in this place, whether in Latin or Italian, will be gratefully received. In the meantime, I return him my most hearty thanks for his kindness, and shall always acknowledge for it. From the first proposal of Dr. G.'s new Translation, I always disapproved

of it, for many reasons. 1. I could never persuade myself that any one man was adequate for a work of that kind. 2. I knew too much of his giddy disposition, Latitudinarian sentiments, and fondness for novelty, to imagine him a fit person. 3. I saw from a Letter of one of his great patrons, to a Friend of mine, that the design of the party who supported the plan was to make the Translation as near the Protestants' as possible; and, in this view, it was praised publicly in the House of Commons of Ireland, as a proof of the liberal sentiments of the age, and this praise, published in newspapers. Such a design, executed by such a hand, I could expect no good from. 4. It was undertaken, not only without the approbation, but in direct opposition to the V.V. in England. These are some of my chief reasons, besides others of no small weight, which I could mention, if necessary. And for these reasons, I was exceedingly sorry that B. G.'s, was so encouraging to the undertaking, of which I got repeated complaints from England; but my grief was much increased, when I saw his name appear in the Prospectus, with so much elat, as one of the chief promoters of the work—for I considered this as a means to delude others to patronize it, and, persuaded as I was that the work would prove very exceptional, I was sure that whoever patronized it in Embryo, would have reason to regret it in the sequel, which, I have some reason to think, he begins now to do. For the same reasons I was not a little concerned, when I had an occasion to see the Specimen, and find there my good friend, Abbé Thomson, mentioned with encomium, as another great promoter, to whose assistance the Translator expresses great obligations. I was more surprised at that, because I knew the Abbé was well acquainted with the Translator's character, and had had some experience of the use he makes of the names and authority of those who seem to take his side. I cannot but approve of your conduct in regard to the dedication; and, indeed, his proposal of dedicating it to that personage seems to me the fruit either of an inexcusable ignorance, or of an unparalleled insolence. Is it possible he can be ignorant that several things he has already advanced in his Specimen are inconsistent with Catholic principles? And if he is not, with what face can he propose to dedicate it to such a person? I, therefore, exhort you, my Dear Sir, to have nothing to do with that business, and if it should be attempted through any other channel, and you be spoke to about it, make use of my name, and tell my sentiments (as above) freely, whenever you judge proper.

"You may easily imagine it required a good deal of writing to give a full and satisfactory answer to all the misrepresentations, false reasonings, and violent reflections, in the Principal's Memoir. The answer contained a whole quire of paper in my small write. It would,

therefore, be too great a task to transcribe it, and send a copy to you. Besides, the conduct of the other Parisians here, upon that occasion, was such as convinced all the most judicious of our Brethren that it would be quite inadvisable to publish my Answer—they treated me with the utmost indignity, by blistering, and bullying, and running down everything I said, and seemed all determined not to hear any reason upon the matter; and I had already had experience of the Principal's talent in managing his arguments by the same arts. It was therefore thought that, should I publish my Answer, it would only occasion scurrilous Replies without end. By what I had written I had obtained my intent, and persuaded my Brethren of having just reason for not sending Boys to that House, and of the insidious design of the Memoir to stir them up to a party against me. My writing had demonstrated this design, and I have reason to believe, had reconciled some of them more to me than ever they had been before, and having obtained that, it was most advisable to treat the Memoir with the silence it deserved. This advice I have followed, and intend to give myself no more trouble about the matter.

Our rains continued a considerable time, and it was much feared would spoil the crop much; but, to our great comfort, the weather changed about three weeks ago, and brisk wind came on, which, in a few days, did amazing good, so that in all the neighbourhood we got in our little crops safe and sound, and in good case. Blessed be God! The seditious disposition of people in various parts of Europe, and the fatal effects they occasion to many innocent well-meaning people are, to be sure, very deplorable, and make me still more and more inclined to favour Pastorini's interpretation of the Apocalypse, and to think that preparation is making for the last period of time. But in this, as in everything else, we must submit to the disposition of Providence, who knows how to draw good out of evil, and turn all to the greater good of those who love and serve Him. May He grant us all his grace to be faithful to Him, and secure to ourselves, and to those under our charge, as far as lies in our power, a place in His Eternal Glory. Remember me to all Friends, and I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately in Dno.

G. H."

News of the death of the Duchess of Albany at Bologna, on the 17th November, was communicated to Bishop Geddes by Mr. Thomson. —[November 28.] She had died "in an edifying manner, and much regretted, leaving the Cardinal Duke of York her heir." The vain Cardinal had struck a Medal, in which he was designated as *Henricus IX.*, with the motto\*

\* *Various Reading.* Nee desideriis hominum, nee Dei voluntate.

Non desideriis hominum sed Dei voluntate; which only served to expose him to ridicule. Mr. Thomson also alluded to the nomination of the first American Catholic Bishop of Baltimore, in the person of Mr Caryl.—Mr. Thomson is in error in asserting that the States had refused a Vicar Apostolic, and Bishop *in partibus*. The States declined, in any way, to interfere. [See C. Butler's *Memoirs*, IV.]

Bishop Geddes, who seems to have concurred unwillingly in the peremptory Prohibition of Music issued by Bishop Hay, now prepared his Reasons as he had promised, for requesting that some Hymns might be Sung in the Chapels at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, after the Christian Doctrine, on Sunday Afternoons. He urged the advantage that would accrue to Religion, from the use of suitable Music; which had been sanctioned by the Church in all ages. Music was mentioned by St. Justin, as part of Divine Worship, even at a time when the Christians used to meet in the Catacombs. From all that Bishop Geddes could observe, there was not the smallest danger to be feared from the use of Music in their Chapels. The great majority of the Catholic Body wished it, and could not well be made to understand why the Bishops should not encourage it. Had not the Prohibition against it been obeyed with prudence and by degrees, some scandal would certainly have arisen. But the consideration that chiefly weighed with the Bishop, was this: Sunday Afternoons and Sunday Evenings were times of peculiar danger for young persons; it was, therefore, a matter of no small moment to attract them to Chapel, to Christian Doctrine, and to Devotion, an object to which a little Music would much contribute. "This would likewise be a preparation at a distance, for our having a High Mass sung on some Festivals, to the great edification of the faithful, when we shall see it expedient. Your predecessor was very desirous of seeing this; and what he said to me on that subject was one of the reasons I had for making Church Music be taught at Valladolid, which I wish were done in all our Houses abroad. I beg you will consider all this, and I hope you will give a favourable answer to our Petition. You will hear of, and see the good effects of it."

—[Dec. 21.]

In 1785, a Benefit and Burial Society, called St.

Andrew's Catholic Society, was instituted in the Congregations at Edinburgh. It had succeeded so far beyond expectation, that in November, 1789, its Statutes, Laws, and Regulations were made public, with a view to attracting more attention to it, and of thus rendering it more efficient. No one could aspire to enter this Society but a Catholic of good moral character, and of sound constitution, and whose age did not exceed thirty-six years. Two Members must attest his character; his admission was decided at a Meeting of the Society, by ballot; a majority of three balls being held decisive. The quarterly payment of one shilling and sixpence, together with a sum of money at his entrance, equivalent to one per cent. on the whole capital of the Society—[This could obviously be practicable only while the capital Fund remained small]—entitled a Member, after the lapse of five years, to receive five shillings in the week, if he should fall into indigence. At his death, his widow became entitled to £3 sterling, for the expenses of his Funeral. If the wife of a Member died, he received £2, to Bury her. If the widow of a Member had not married again, her nearest relation was entitled at her death, to £2, for her interment. As often as any of these Burial payments were made, all the Members were called upon to pay sixpence to the general Fund, and under a similar penalty, they were all of them bound to attend the Funeral. The Society was under the Management of a President and six Directors, a Treasurer, and a Clerk, all of whom were elected annually, early in May. Two Arbiters were also appointed, and when necessary, a third, for the decision of disputes arising between any Members; and from their sentence, no appeal was permitted to any Court of Law. No money belonging to the Society, could be lost to any of its Members. Any person who contributed a donation, became an Honorary Member, of the Society. St. Andrew's Society continued in active operation for many years; and was finally wound up, and its capital Fund divided among its Members, some thirty or forty years ago.—[Late Deacon Fenwick.]

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## CHAPTER XVII.

1790—1791.

Country Schools—B. Geddes' long Journeys on foot—New Chapel at Preshome—Scotch Colleges in France in danger—Arrival of Portuguese Medical Students—Progress of Mission—Catholic Laity for the first time asked to support their Missionaries—B. Geddes goes to Paris to save the Scotch College, if possible—B. Hay takes up his residence at Edinburgh—Death of B. Macdonald.

On the third day of the New Year, Bishop Hay addressed his Friend in Edinburgh, discussing at large several matters of passing interest. At the Seminary, they had hitherto had a fine open Winter, with “a skirl of wind and snow now and then, and some black frost, but no storm.” For this reason they laid their account with a stormy Spring; and it was, therefore, a matter of so great uncertainty whether it would be possible to Bless the Holy Oils at Sealan, that the Bishop thought it best to give his Coadjutor timely notice, so that the Ceremony might take place in Edinburgh. They were perfectly agreed on a subject which Bishop Geddes seems to have pressed on his attention—the Annual Visitation of every Missionary by the Bishop. Bishop Hay fully admitted it to be very desirable; but the scarcity of Missionaries having imposed on the Bishops the necessity of undertaking the Parochial Charge of particular Congregations, it was impossible for them, in addition to their duties in the District at large, to Visit every Missionary often, or to reside with him long. This difficulty had been felt by all of his Predecessors whom he had personally known. It would, therefore, be necessary to wait patiently till, in God's good time, more Hands should be sent to relieve them. When any necessity required the presence of the Bishops, on business which could not be transacted by Letter, it must be attended to in person. But Bishop Hay had disapproved of his Coadjutor's going to Galloway in the preceding Autumn, because he had been there once already, in the Spring of the year, and no necessity or reason for his going a second time had been alleged, beyond the desire of the people to see him. It seemed, therefore, unreasonable, when Bishop Geddes had so much on his hands at home, that he should undertake such a Journey to answer every humour or fancy of the people. It ap-

peared to his Friend that he was making himself too cheap, and even a kind of slave to them.

On the subject of Music in their Chapels, Bishop Hay had urged several strong Reasons for adhering to the decision which had prohibited it. His remarks are forcible.

“3rd January, 1790.

“I have considered very attentively what you say about singing some Hymns after Christian Doctrine at Edinburgh and Aberdeen; but I see nothing alleged there but what was canvassed between us when you was here in Summer, before we sent orders in both our names to put a stop to the whole. But there appears to me an objection against your proposal, which, I suppose, you have not thoroughly adverted to, and yet seems to have a great deal of weight. We lately gave out a general prohibition of singing either forenoon or afternoon in the Chapels—this was done in both our names conjointly—and in it we declared that, notwithstanding our earnest wish to be in such a situation that Music could be used in all our Chapels in a proper manner, yet, having consulted together, and considered attentively all the reasons on both sides, we were entirely of opinion that, in our present circumstances, it could not be done as it ought, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and, therefore, we judged it necessary to put an entire stop to what had been already begun that way. This was the substance of our decision, and the grounds of it. Now, if a few months after we should allow the same to be begun again, even in part, what will be the consequences?—1st. It will show an inconsistency and instability in our determinations, and there will not be wanting numbers who will draw that consequence from it. 2nd. It will bring, of course, our authority and orders into contempt. 3rd. It will give others a handle to think that we had no solid grounds for the prohibition, and that it was only a piece of humour and whim. 4th. It will, in fine, open a door to make those who have the whim of doing it more and more importunate with us to permit it in the forenoons also; and certain geniuses will never be at a loss to allege plausible reasons for teasing us on that head. You propose confining the permission to Edinburgh and Aberdeen, but this would occasion another disagreeable consequence, in making Mr. Mathison think himself injured; for, soon after you left him last Summer, he wrote me a Letter, in which he acknowledges, from what you had told him, that we had just reasons for prohibiting singing in other places, where it had been begun *without the sanction of Superiors*, and in places where a double caution and prudence was required, neither of which was his case, where there was little or no danger, and his attempt was approved at the time by one of his Superiors,

and, therefore, hoped that I would allow him to go on as usual. Now, my Dear Sir, he being of these sentiments, would he be pleased, if allowed in places where more caution is required, and refused to him? to those who had acted improperly, and not to him who acted *en règle*? He surely would have a just cause to complain. And if allowed to him, we are just where we were, with the addition of all the above mortifying consequences flowing from our conduct. I have always been made to believe, by what I either read or heard on that subject, that in matters of Government, in all States, from the throne to the peasant, nothing was of more importance than firmness and consistency of conduct. Examine well before orders are issued out; but, when they are once given, stand to them with firmness, unless where an evident change of circumstances makes a relaxation advisable, which, certainly, is not the case in the present matter. Perhaps you will not be so sensible of the importance of this maxim at present, as you will be afterwards, when the whole shall lie upon your own shoulders; but I feel it, and have felt it in more than one instance.” . . .

Having thus, as he thought, set this Matter for ever at rest, the Bishop proceeded to discuss another important Matter, relating to the Education of the poor children in his neighbourhood. A man of the name of Fleming kept a Charity School near Sealan, at a place called Badevochla, but made all the children pay whom he thought able to do so. He also obliged them to learn his Protestant Catechism every Saturday, threatening to expel any who refused. The Missionary, Mr. James Carruthers, had found it very injurious to the children of his Congregation, not so much because it filled their heads with ideas different from what they had learnt from their parents and their Pastor, as because it confused the minds of the poor children, and also, because it prevented them from learning their own Catechism on Saturday, all their time being taken up in committing Mr. Fleming's to memory. To put a stop to this, Mr. Carruthers had brought from Galloway a young man, a native of Ireland, who had come to Scotland in quest of a Schoolmaster's situation. This young man was well qualified to teach Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, and was, besides, a good Humanist, [Latin Scholar.] He had arrived in Glenlivat the week before Christmas, and had already proved himself a decent sort of man, well fitted for his business,

and much superior to Mr. Fleming as a penman. The people hailed his coming with joy, procured him a Schoolroom, and sent their children to him, justly observing that, since they must pay, they would rather it should be a man who was capable of instructing their children in their own way of thinking. Mr. Fleming, however, and his friends, took it much amiss, and threatened to send a Memorial to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in Edinburgh. As a Catholic Schoolmaster was still prescribed by Law in Scotland, Bishop Hay requested his Friend to employ his influence with a gentleman in the Capital, who was a Member of that Society, to counteract the evil effects which might follow from such an Appeal, strengthened by the misrepresentations and exaggerations which would probably accompany it. An additional argument in favour of Mr. Carruthers' Schoolmaster, was supplied by the fact, that Mr. Fleming remained in the Braes only two or three years at a time, and then migrated to the lower end of the District, so that many of the children lost what they had acquired.

Mr. Maciver, the aged dependant of the Traquair Family, whom Bishop Geddes had occasionally visited at their Country-Seat, died, January 31st. He had been brought to Edinburgh six or eight weeks before, and "made a very edifying departure out of life."—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, February 1.] Bishop Geddes also communicated the news of Bishop James Talbot's death, on the 26th January. Another poor Irish Convict was preparing, under Bishop Geddes' care, to undergo the extreme penalty of the Law, in a couple of days. The distinguished Dr. Cullen had also lately died, and Bishop Geddes' particular Friend, Dr. Gregory, no less eminent in Science, had succeeded to the vacant Chair of Medicine in the University.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Feb. 17.]

The question of Music was still pending. When Bishop Hay's Prohibition was promulgated, Giambattista Corri was training a Class of twenty persons, whom he still continued to meet in a private room, for instruction and for practice. They had now made considerable progress; and interpreting the Prohibition against Music in the Chapels as implying no more than its suspension until it could be properly performed,

they were most anxious now to be permitted to sing a few Hymns on Sunday afternoons. Bishop Geddes had accordingly been prevailed on to make another application on their behalf to his Friend; but as if conscious of the hopelessness of the task, he closed this statement of the circumstances in which he had undertaken it, by saying that he would mention the subject no more, till he should meet his Friend.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 18.]

At the Execution of the unhappy Irishman, whom Bishop Geddes had prepared for death, the Town Council resolved to permit any Catholic Clergyman to assist him publicly on the scaffold; the Lord Advocate, on consultation, having declared that he saw no impropriety in it. Bailie John Hutton, a Friend and old schoolfellow of Bishop Hay's, communicated the resolution of the Magistrates to Bishop Geddes. But he, thinking that some of the rabble might raise a noise, declined the offer with thanks; deeming it sufficient to attend the man to the last in prison, and at the moment of Execution to be stationed in a window close by. This was accordingly done. The Magistrates invited the Bishop to dine with them after the Ceremony, but he not unreasonably declined this invitation also; it would have been a piece of news in town, besides being disagreeable on such an Occasion. Bailie Hutton and Mr. Donaldson both desired to be very kindly remembered to their old Schoolfellow, Bishop Hay; as did also his valued Friend, Mr. Alexander Wood.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 18.]

Bishop Geddes at the same time consulted his Friend as to a Journey that he meditated to the Orkney Islands, for the comfort and encouragement of his recent Converts, Mrs. Trail and her sister, Miss Chapman. He also reported progress in Mr. Pepper's Mission at Dundee, in the purchase of a house for his residence.

Bishop Hay, in reply to his Friend, returns his compliments and best wishes "to my good Friend, Mr. Hutton, for whom I always had a just regard, as also for the other two you mention."—[To B. Geddes, Feb. 25.] The Winter had hitherto been fine at Sealan, but there had been much sickness in the neighbourhood; his own family, however, had enjoyed good health. With Mr. Thomson, the Bishop entered more fully into particulars.—[April 6.] So charming

a Winter as the past, was remembered by none, even the oldest. The oat seed-time was already over, in the little Farm attached to the Seminary, a fortnight ago. His young Charge and himself, had kept their health, thank God, amidst much surrounding sickness. For his own part, he had nothing to complain of, but the failing of his memory, which was so great that in reading any book, he was obliged to consider two or three times, before he could remember the subject of it; and even then, it was as new to him, a day or two after, as it had been at first. He attributed this failing of memory, next to the Divine pleasure, to the long and severe headaches he had been subject to, and of which he still had returns, from time to time. After each attack, he was quite sensible of a diminution in his power of memory.

Albani, the Cardinal-Protector, had shewn an inclination to be more friendly to the College; on which the Bishop congratulates Mr. Thomson. Their opinions coincided as to "a certain Doctor, as he is called;" [Geddes] the Bishop only wished that his friend Bishop Geddes, could see the matter as Mr. Thomson did; he found that Bishop Geddes had injured both himself and the Scottish Mission, in the good opinion of some of their English friends, by the attachment he had shown to Dr. A. Geddes. "I did not fail to admonish him of it, and even told him what had both been said and written to me about it; but I easily saw my opinion or advice was little regarded in the matter."—[April 6.] After begging Mr. Thomson to send him all the Roman news, Bishop Hay concludes—"I hope you do not forget me in Sacris; I remember you daily. God Almighty be always with you, and grant you many happy returns of this Holy Season. Ever yours most affectionately in Duo."

The popularity of the Coadjutor did not always protect him from the misrepresentations of the class of persons from whom Titius had seriously suffered. Whether through culpable inadvertence, or through malice, a report had reached the ear of Bishop Hay that his Prohibition of Music had been disregarded by his Coadjutor. The Bishop seems to have placed too implicit faith in the rumour, and addressed his Friend—[April 8]—in a tone of severity which was totally unmerited. He must

now communicate to Bishop Geddes a piece of unexpected news, (to himself, at least) which he had lately received from Bishop Geddes' neighbourhood; namely, that Singing went on openly, on Sundays, in the Bishop's Chapel; that a new Teacher of Music had been engaged at a salary of £35 a-year; and that Bishop Hay was blamed for refusing a similar permission to Mr. Menzies across the way, a partiality which seemed to favour Bishop Geddes' Chapel, on account of the rich people who frequented it. Bishop Hay professed himself quite at a loss what to think of this piece of information; and desired to know whether it was true or not. He had no wish to have any further litigation with his Coadjutor on the subject, if it were true; for if Bishop Geddes had indeed taken this step, he had God and his own conscience to answer to for it; but Bishop Hay wished to know, merely for his own private satisfaction. With increasing severity of tone, he requested to have a precise answer, Yes, or No; an equivocal answer he would consider as Yes. Then, changing the subject, he wished his Friend many happy returns of that Holy Season. In reply to Bishop Geddes' inquiry about his Orkney Journey, Bishop Hay saw some objections to it, and weighty ones; he had even some doubts as to those remote Islands belonging to the Lowland District. But he would leave it entirely to Bishop Geddes' own determination.

Bishop Geddes had lately been to Glasgow.—[B. Geddes, Edinburgh, to Mr. Thomson, April 12.] On his return home, he gave his Friend a few interesting details of his long pedestrian journeys. He derived many advantages from that mode of travelling. It secured him the enjoyment of sweet solitude; it was a feast for him to walk for a day or two all alone, after being harassed for five or six weeks, without having an hour in the day that he could call his own. "When I set out hence," he writes, "after conversing a while with God, I foresee, as well as I can, what I have to do at Glasgow, and by the way; and concert all my measures." Then he meditated on what he had a mind to examine to the bottom. While he rested at an inn, he often wrote down the result of his meditation; a convenience which he could not enjoy in public carriages. Then he had a fine view of the country; he could leave the road as he

pleased, to visit any old Castles, or Churches, or natural Curiosities that met his eye, or various Towns within his reach ; so that he was already pretty familiar with the geography of a good many Southern Shires. These walks also contributed much to his health ; and at the present time, he felt himself stronger than he was at thirty years of age. He would leave off going on foot, as soon as he perceived it beginning to fatigue him. He usually carried with him "a staff umbrella," which had become very common, and was very useful. To crown all, this walking saved him a good deal of money. He was able to travel to Glasgow very well in a day and a half for three or four shillings ; three times that sum would be required, if he went on horseback, or in a public carriage. He adds, with some humour, "Bishop Hay recommended me to go north on horseback ; but was not in the end displeased at my having gone on foot, especially, as by that means my horses eat none of his grass ; and he readily approved of my walking through Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, as he could not well spare his Scalp horses." Within the last week, Bishop Geddes had dined or supped with four of the Judges, and they all seemed to be very friendly. The Meetings of the Catholics at Glasgow for Worship, were as public as any others in the Town ; and many Protestants of the better sort attended them.

"But this, as human things are, does not secure us from future storms." Mr. Papillon, a French Catholic at Glasgow, had lately, a second time, received a premium from the Board of Trustees for the encouragement of Manufactures, for his invention of a beautiful Turkey Red, and of other colours used in dyeing cotton.

The reply of Bishop Geddes,—[April 15]—to Bishop Hay's last appeal on the subject of Music, contains the most spirited remonstrance against unjust suspicions anywhere to be found in the amiable Coadjutor's Correspondence. No one can say that it was not called for. The report which had reached Scalp was, of course, false. Lying is more nearly akin to evil-speaking than the infamous tribe of common informers seem to be aware. Yet, they are generally persons who make a greater show of Religious observance than the innocent persons whom they traduce.

15th April, 1790.

"Much Honoured and Dear Sir,—I am to-day very busy, being to depart to-morrow for Glasgow, to give our people there an opportunity of making their Easter Communions, as I wrote to you lately ; and, therefore, I would not at present have written to you, had I not just received yours of the 8th current, which, indeed, requires an immediate answer ; nor will my mind be quite easy until I learn that it has reached you, and that you are convinced that your information concerning Music is entirely false ; for, since our Orders prohibiting it, reached this City, there has been no Music *in this Chapel*, no more than in the other, excepting one only Sunday's Afternoon, that in my absence at Glasgow, and without any the least concurrence of mine, they had in this Chapel, a *trial of their Music*, at which a good many persons of both Congregations were present. For, as I think, I informed you before my return from the North, they had a School of Music formed, and some of the children were, it seems, making considerable progress, but for this, they did not at all meet in the Chapel. It was represented to me that this might be useful for the children, and might be a preparation for the time when we should see proper to introduce music into our Chapels, which we ourselves were inclined to do when we should see it prudent. The only proper answer that I thought I could give to this, was, that they might have as many Schools of Music as they pleased, but that there would be no Music in the Chapel, until we should have our Superior's full approbation. And to this, you may be persuaded, I have most strictly adhered, which was certainly no more than my duty. Nor has there been in our Chapel any more music than I ever heard of, than what I have mentioned, on one Sunday's Afternoon in my absence, and without any so much as a *Permission* from me, as I shall acquaint you more fully at meeting. So far have I been from giving any encouragement to them, that since July last, I have not heard *one single Note* of their Music in the Chapel, or out of the Chapel ; and this partly, at least, out of deference to you, and something against my own inclination, and even opinion ; for, as I represented to you, I did think we might have allowed the singing of some hymns in the afternoons of the Sundays ; but I never once thought of consenting to such a thing, after what had passed between us, without leave from you, and much less, surely against your orders, which, God forbid that I ever be capable of doing. And here, after satisfying you I hope, fully, you must allow me, my Dear Friend, to complain very much (but as a Friend to a Friend) of your ever giving the very least degree of credit to such a report, which I cannot but look upon as most injurious to me, because, were it true, it would certainly prove me very forgetful of my duty, and most wanting in the respect and

obedience that I owe to you. I thank God, I am not conscious to myself of having ever been guilty of such an action as that would have been, and I hope God will always preserve me from what would have been so foolish and really so highly scandalous. Your mentioning that you had heard such a story was very proper; but what hurts me is that you should have been in the least afraid of its being true; and this not, if I do not flatter myself, out of pride, but because such a suspicion might naturally lessen that confidence which should be between us; for what must you think of your Coadjutor, were he capable of writing to you, *That there should be no more about Music in the Chapel, at least, until our Meeting*, and yet of at the same time *having Music openly in the Chapel every Sunday, contrary to his express assertion, and promise to you*. Am I so wicked and so foolish as to be guilty of this? You should not have suspected me of it. But between us, this shall, I hope, produce no bad effect. If left to myself, I must acknowledge that I am capable of everything that is bad; but in this instance, I am innocent of having ever once imagined to do what is laid to my charge; and we shall smile together about this story, when we meet, and make no more about it, *providing* you will allow me to go to Orkney, and not require my being at Scalan sooner than the 25th of July. I shall this day write to B. M'Donald, and see to get him to agree to that time. I shall also mention my projected voyage to Orkney, and tell him of your doubt, which, however, I think is groundless. I can scarcely imagine that any one would be so malicious, as to give you false information concerning our Music, in order to create a misunderstanding between you and me. I rather believe that the tale has arisen from a mistake occasioned, perhaps, by the fact of the School I have mentioned; but let that be as it will, on my part, I shall be willing and desirous to renew in the most sincere manner, the confidential friendship that has so long subsisted, and which, I hope shall never have an end. Pray for me. I truly am, my Dear Friend, yours unchangeably. Jo. Geddes.

*P.S.*—My reasons for wishing to go to Orkney, are briefly these. I promised to Mrs. Trail and Miss Chapman, both before and after their Conversion, to pay them a visit there, if you should allow me to go, and if the circumstances should permit it; and I must keep my promise. Besides this, it would be discouraging to them, should I not go; and if I do go, this, with God's Grace would confirm them in the Faith, and might edify others. Nevertheless, I shall be very glad to hear reasons against my going, and if you judge it improper, I shall not persist in asking leave to go; but shall do what I can, by Letters, to satisfy the poor Converts. Adieu."

Bishop Hay acknowledged—[April 30] that

he had been in error in his late suspicion of his Friend; yet, it must be confessed that his tone is colder than might have been looked for, after so grave a mistake. By comparing all the Letters together, we perceive that his intention went no further than to ask for information; and yet, so difficult is it to make Correspondence by Letter an exact reflection of the writer's meaning, and of neither more nor less, no third person could doubt, from the tone of the Bishop's first Letter on the subject, that he almost credited the accusation, and half-expected an evasive answer from his Friend. In his reply he first reminded Bishop Geddes that his last Letter of April 15th was only the third received from him, since the 21st of the preceding December. Bishop Hay thus continues, in a frigid, Judicial, tone; “The subject of my last to you being about a matter of fact, in which I could not suppose my Correspondent could well be mistaken; and, on the other hand, it appearing very improbable, indeed, that it should have happened; and it being impossible for me to divine the cause of the mistake which you mention; my mind was necessarily left in suspense; and to get this suspense dissipated, I wrote [to] you. Your explication of the matter is perfectly satisfying, and your conjecture of the cause of the mistake, I am persuaded, from comparing dates, is just. This was all that was needed; the enlargement you have made above, was quite unnecessary. But I wish you had given me some answer about the other things I mentioned in my late Letters. What is done about Colquhoun Grant's Account? What is my share of Postages for 1789? What Bank Dividends come to, this year? I have written twice, at least, to you, about the Leghorn ship's sailing. . . . As for your desire of *renewing, in the most sincere manner, the confidential friendship that has so long subsisted between us*, the word “renewing” implies that there has been a breach of it. I am not conscious of having done anything that could indicate a failure on my side—if anything on your part has had any appearance of that kind, I have always put up with it in silence; and I think I can safely defy the world to say that they ever heard or saw anything like a complaint from me. That we have differed in our opinion about some particulars is true; but we both had an equal title to do so,

and to avow our sentiments. That I do not approve some things in you, I acknowledge; and at first, in confidence of our friendship, I took the liberty to tell you so. But, instead of conferring upon the matter calmly, I got such returns from you (which your own handwriting will testify) that I saw it was to little purpose to insist on such topics. That endeavours have been used to prejudice you against me, I had repeatedly from your own mouth, and Mr. Maepherson informed me of more, when last here, some months ago. You yourself know my behaviour on hearing this from you, and Mr. Maepherson can inform you how I received such news from him. Nor do I think that my conduct, in all the above circumstances, can indicate the smallest diminution of my regard for you. God is my witness, I love you sincerely, and daily pray most earnestly for you. But this is not a proper subject for committing to paper." . . . He again left it entirely to his Friend's decision, as to the Orkney Journey. Bishop Hay proposed going to the Enzie after Trinity-Sunday—[May 30th]—and take Buchan on his way to Aberdeen, for the Midsummer Term. He should then return to Sealan about the 10th or 12th of July, to await the coming of his colleagues. "May Almighty God direct us in all things, to what is most pleasing to Him."

Early in May, a Letter from Bishop Geddes, dated April 4th, reached Sealan. It contained replies to all the inquiries mentioned, with so much asperity, in Bishop Hay's Letter of April 30th, which it had crossed. An Incident which has frequently occurred in these Memoirs, and which is not without its whisper of instruction.

Monsignor Erskine continued to retain a friendly recollection of his Fellow-Students in Scotland. In a Letter of Compliment to Bishop Geddes,—[Rome, May 1]—he desired to be recalled to his kind and affectionate remembrance. "If you should happen to see Mr. Hay, or any of my ancient comrades, pray, my best wishes and compliments to them." The worthy Prelate possessed no more than a very moderate acquaintance with the English language.

Bishop Geddes—[May 15 and 22]—communicated to his Friend at Sealan the disagreeable news of a threatened Rupture with Spain, which, however, some persons interpreted as an Apology for arming against Russia. Bishop Gibson,

after a few days' illness, had died of Jaundice, on the 17th instant, at York. His death seemed, to Bishop Geddes, a severe loss to the English Missions, in the present alarming situation of their affairs. He thought the deceased Prelate the best bulwark they had against the headlong innovating spirit so prevalent. The *Young Party* in the Catholic Committee was still for pressing the Bill and Oath, with some alterations however. Bishop Geddes had determined on undertaking his Orkney Expedition, probably on foot—it would take a few days longer, indeed—but, besides other advantages, he would be able to make a Spiritual Retreat by the way. He proposed to be at Glasgow, Sunday, June 13th, and thence to start direct for the North, through Perthshire and Inverness-shire, by Garvemore and Fort-Augustus, and through Strathglass to Beauly, arranging so as, probably, not to lose Prayers on Sundays. He promised his Friend to take a horse, if he should feel fatigued.

Bishop Hay was directing his financial powers at this time to getting the Seminary freed from its debt to Company.—[To B. Geddes, May 10.] He sent two boys, John Gordon, "Tulliehallum's son," and William Catanach, to Edinburgh, in charge of old Robert Cumming, fearing the Pressgang for the lads.—[To Same, May 24.] He returned by the same opportunity the Ring-Dial lent him last Autumn by B. Geddes, and which he could make nothing of. The Kelso Paper was to be stopped, as the Aberdeen Journal was as good, and much cheaper. "My heart bleeds for the distress of many of the poor people here; the late bad years and exorbitant rents having reduced many of them to great misery."

The new Chapel at Preshome was opened for Divine Service on Pentecost Sunday, May 23.—[B. Hay, *Litcheston*, to B. Geddes, June 3.] Its great promoter, the Baronet of Letterfour, did not live to see the auspicious day, having been found dead in bed, on the morning of the 30th April.—[Mr. Matthieson to B. Geddes, May 9.] Two days before his death, Mr. Matthieson had seen him—he had never seemed better, or more full of projects—they had sat talking till midnight. His Funeral was attended by the Duke of Gordon, by Lord Findlater, and sixteen other Gentlemen. Bishop Hay, although he had at

one time pronounced the plan of the new Chapel a romantic scheme, was—[June 3]—now free to confess that after having been through it all, on the previous day, it was, indeed, a beautiful House, and well executed. “I sincerely pray God to grant long and peaceable possession.” No Chapel approaching to it in pretensions had been erected in Scotland, since the Reformation. Even now, in the opinion of many well qualified to decide, it is surpassed by no Chapel in Scotland, in the spaciousness and the elegance of its internal proportions. A Tablet over the principal Entrance, towards the West, announces its Dedication, *Deo 1788*, the year in which the Foundation was laid.

Bishop Geddes was now about to set out on his long pedestrian Journey, animated by the prayers of his Friend, Bishop Hay,—[June 3]—that God would be with him on his Journey, and grant him a safe and a speedy return. He left Glasgow, June 11th, in the evening; and passing through the romantic scenery of Stirlingshire and Perthshire, reached Fort-Augustus, on Loch Ness, in about ten days.—[B. Geddes, Fort-Augustus, to B. Hay, June 21.] While repeating his Office among the wild mountain-passes of the Grampian range, his pious soul seemed to perceive new meaning in the Apostrophe of the Three Children: *Benedicite montes et colles Domino*—[MS. Journal.] His distress was great, to observe the desolation of wide tracts of country lately depopulated to make way for Sheep-Farms. In Inverness-shire, he found an old Friend, a sister of Mr. John Reid's, married to a Sheep-Farmer, with whom he spent a pleasant Sunday. From Fort-Augustus, he passed through Glenmoriston and Strathglass; thence by Fasnacyle to Beauly, where he entered Ross-shire. By Dingwall and Tain he skirted along the Coast to John o' Groat's House, the most northern point of the Scottish Mainland, which he reached on the last day of June, without fatigue, and in excellent health. July 1st, he crossed the Pentland Frith, a walk of ten or twelve miles, interrupted by two smaller Ferries, brought him to the Mainland of Orkney, whence he crossed over to Kirkwall, early in the morning of the following day. The day was extremely fine, and before sailing for the Island of Sanda, where his friends resided, he sat down to give Bishop Hay a narrative of his

Journey up to that date.—[July 2.] “Just now,” he writes, “from the table where I write, I have the Cathedral quite entire, over against me. What reflections!” He hoped to reach Sanda, the same evening, and then, on the Festival of the Visitation, to begin his Visit to his Friends; on the most Northerly spot he ever expected to attain. “Pray for me,” he concludes, “and believe me to be, with the most cordial affection, in all places, even in the midst of the Orkney Islands, much Honoured, Dear Sir, your most obedient Servant.”

On his arrival at Sanda, the most Northern but one of the Orkney cluster of Islands, the Bishop found his Friends in deep distress; Mr. Trail, the husband of one of them, was dangerously ill of Fever. Eight days elapsed, and he became speechless, though still perfectly master of his senses. He took the Bishop's hand and kissed it, and expressed a desire that he would Pray with him. These signs, with the sick man's well-known esteem for the Catholic Religion, encouraged the Bishop to give him Absolution, and he soon after expired. The extremely delicate circumstances of the Bishop's Visit, had prevented him from speaking sooner to his host, and besides this, Mr. Trail's brother, a minister, was daily expected to arrive from Westra.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Oct. 15.] Bishop Geddes was not without hope that his presence had been of some service to the soul of his host, although at the last moment. He was at least able to console the poor widow; who, together with her little girl, only three years of age, and her sister, Miss Chapman, in the course of a few weeks, bade adieu to Orkney, and took up her residence in Edinburgh.

On the Bishop's return to Kirkwall, he found some of his Edinburgh acquaintances newly arrived for the Election. He dined with the Magistrates, and was entertained with extreme civility. His route southwards was varied by his taking Cronarty instead of Dingwall on the way; thence he walked up the Western side of Beauly Frith, by Fortrose, and so crossed over to Inverness. With his active interest in everything that belonged to the history of his native land, he spent two or three hours on the Moor of Culloden, attended by a good guide. The first week in August found him alone with Bishop Hay at Scalaa. Thus, in less

than eight weeks, he had walked, on a moderate calculation, upwards of 600 miles. He would hardly admit it himself; but his friends perceived that he had sustained a lasting injury from over-fatigue. From this Journey is in fact to be dated "the beginning of the end" of his beautiful career. One piece more of active service on behalf of the Mission still awaited him; then a few years of increasing infirmity and of acute suffering, borne with a Martyr's sweetness;—and then—Rest!

The Revolution in France had now reached such a height, as to give the Bishops, and indeed all the friends of the Scottish Mission, the most serious alarm for the fate of the Colleges in that miserable Country. In the Spring of this year, Mr. Farquharson represented the imminent danger of losing the Scottish Establishment at Douay, in terms so strong, that Bishop Hay, at his request, addressed the Bishop of the Diocese, recommending the College to his protection.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, April 6.] The steps taken by Principal Gordon were characteristic, and evinced his resolution to acknowledge no dependence on the Scottish Bishops. He communicated directly with the British Government, in consequence of which a Despatch was addressed by the Duke of Leeds—[Whitehall, March 5]—to Lord Robert Fitzgerald, the British Charge d' Affaires, in Paris, instructing him to present a Memorial to the French Government, if circumstances should render it necessary, on behalf of the Scotch College, Paris. He was to represent the College as having long been Property vested in British subjects; and should it be no longer practicable to retain possession of it, the British Minister was to endeavour to prevail on the French Government to allow the Members of the College to dispose of their Property and withdraw from the Country, taking its Value along with them. The Minister was authorised to assure the French Government that their acquiescence would be exceedingly agreeable to his British Majesty, and to the Nation. The Scottish Colleges were, in fact, in imminent danger, as the Nuncio at Paris informed Antonelli.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Hay, June 26.] The Carthusians were no more; Grisy had no Superior but the Principal.—[Same to same, July 10.] Yet, Mr. Thomson blames him for including his own

College alone in his application to the French Government; but as he was responsible only for that, more could not fairly have been expected. The Guardians of other Scottish Property in France might take their own measures.

Mr. Farquharson here describes the state of affairs at Douay, in July.—[To B. Hay, July 5.] "Since I wrote you last, our situation here has been singularly envious; the most tyrannical Government is preferable to none at all; better live under a Nero, than be daily exposed to all the wild horrors of anarchy. Since the middle of May, we are fairly at the mercy of our Military; they hold Court-Martials, dismiss whom they please, insult openly their Officers, and Clergy. For three days and four nights on end, the town exhibited an image of Hell; 4000 armed drunken Soldiers, with impunity, rioted all over, entered Communities, forced Nunneries, made their quarters good everywhere, yet, to their honour be it said, no indecencies were committed. Our good Nuns were greatly frightened at such nocturnal visits. Some Seminarians were roughly handled, and one, in particular for making a difficulty in joining the Rioters, received a thrust which would have proved mortal, had not the point of the sword met with a rib. The English Students were repeatedly dragged through the streets; my Youth happily escaped. Similar disgraceful scenes have been since repeated, though in an inferior degree. The Students have, in a great measure, abandoned the Town, during the last ten days. Owing to the great exertions of our Municipal Officers, we have enjoyed peace, but we are much afraid of the approaching 14th of July. At present, about 1,200 Electors for the Assemblie du Department, (fixt at Douay) are in Town; upon their choice our happiness greatly depends." Ever since Easter, Mr. Farquharson was in constant Correspondence with the Bishop of Rhodez, a Member of the National Assembly, on the subject of the Scotch College. The Bishop shewed himself a true Friend at this critical period. With his concurrence, Mr. Farquharson forwarded to Scotland, a Minute of a Memorial to the Assembly, on behalf of the Scotch Douay College, for the signatures of the Bishops and of the influential Catholic laymen; the Bishop of Rhodez undertaking to present it, and to

exert all his influence in its support. Principal Gordon's Memorial to the French Government had been presented to the Assembly, and thence referred to the Comité Ecclesiastique.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 18.]

Bishop Macdonald was detained at home by illness for a considerable time after the usual period for the Annual Meeting at Sealan. It was, therefore, found necessary for Bishop Geddes, at once to set out on a Tour for the purpose of obtaining as many Signatures of influential Catholic laymen as he could, in the Counties of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire. Before the end of the first week in August, we find him again in motion; but now he had a horse to carry him, and a man on foot to attend him. His first stage was to Aberlour; thence to Fochabers, where he took tea with the Duke of Gordon, who was very polite. Bishop Hay had sent his Grace a special invitation to Sealan, which the Duke hoped to accept. Bishop Geddes is next found at Litcheston, then the residence of the Glastirum branch of the Gordon Family. He dined one day with Mr. Reid of Preshome, and met Mr. Matthieson; and in the afternoon visited Miss Hay at Clochan, whom he found as usual. He next called at Cairnfield, then rode on to Letterfourie, where he took an opportunity of thanking the new Baronet for his great interest in the Preshome Chapel. Mr. Reid accompanied the Bishop to Cullen, to thank Lord Findlater for his contribution to the same Edifice. Taking Auchintoul on his way, Bishop Geddes spent Sunday at Barrach, and gave the people Prayers. Next day he reached Fetternear; the day following, Pitfodels. Mr. Menzies, on his signature to the Memorial being requested, made objections which many who knew him intimately in later life will think highly characteristic. He disapproved of the epithet “de glorieuse memoire,” applied to Louis XIV.; and he criticised an expression which seemed to imply that the Catholic Body in Scotland was still persecuted on account of Religion. This difficulty was easily overcome by underlining the word *alors*, which immediately preceded the phrase in question; and even the other was ultimately surmounted, and the good man whose scrupulous honour, even to the end of his long life, remained sensitive as a child's, added his signature. Bishop Geddes

finished his Tour at Aberdeen, August 18th, having obtained eleven Signatures to the Memorial, besides the Bishop's.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Aug. 19.] It was immediately despatched to Douay, and the Bishop resumed his journey —[Aug. 19]—towards Edinburgh, visiting Dundee, Kennetley, Belmont Castle, Stobhall, and Balloch. He was by this time, heartily tired of riding on horse-back, at least with an attendant on foot. It had fatigued him more than if he had walked, without attaining any greater speed, for he could have walked faster than his footman; it had been more troublesome and more expensive; his only gain had been the carriage of his saddlebags, and a little saving of shoes and stockings. The first day of September found him in Edinburgh, after an absence of twelve weeks.

Bishop Hay, meanwhile, was awaiting the arrival of his Highland Colleague, before despatching their common Letters to Rome. He sent Mr. Thomson,—[Aug. 18]—a summary of what had been done for Douay, and of the Mission news in general. The threatened War with Spain, and the disorders in France, kept the Students at home, who were destined for Rome and Valladolid, as a rigid impressment was going on at all the Seaports. The Bishop begged Mr. Thomson to thank his Friend, Mr. Waters, for his handsome present of the Bullarium, of St. Thomas' Works, and of other valuable Books. “The Bullarium will be of service to those after me, when I am dead and gone.” He should be happy to have it in his power to testify his sense of Mr. Waters' kindness and regard, in a more substantial manner than in words alone; at least, he should always, in his prayers, consider Mr. Waters as among his friends and benefactors.

On the same date, Bishop Hay requested his Coadjutor to procure for him in Edinburgh—Reid on Human Nature, some spare Copies of English Controversial Books, Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, and a correct Edition of Cicero's Epistles and Philosophical Works. The Bishop's Studies were not confined to Books. He, at the same time, ordered two or three glass prisms, a conical bottle with a plain bottom; and a cure for the *morbus pedicularis*, used by a Mrs. Smith, with whom the boys, lately returned to Sealan, had lodged in Edinburgh.

In reply to an appeal for assistance, addressed to him from Dundee, by Bishop Geddes, Bishop Hay remarked—[Sept. 5]—that he had little to give at that time, having many demands to meet. He complained that their friends, as soon as they had got permission to build, set no bounds to their schemes, never considering where money was to come from; citing as examples, the Chapels in Blackfriars' Wynd, and at Preshome. It was a misfortune that when the Bishops agreed to settle their demands it only encouraged others to follow their example. “We are not content, now-a-days, with moderate beginnings, and bettering things by degrees, as we can, but we must have all our conveniences at once.” He gave his Coadjutor his sentiments on these matters, in general, as the result of repeated experience, to serve, “if you please to lay any stress on my sentiments,” as a caution against giving way on such occasions. However, for the present necessities of Mr. Pepper’s Chapel at Dundee, the Bishop bestowed £5. They had had heavy rains at Sealan, and a speat for the last two days, greater than any the year before. It had swept away all the new bulwarks, and had risen so high as to touch the “Latterach of the great stack.”

Bishop Macdonald arrived at Sealan early in September, and business was speedily despatched, as the season was far advanced. In the Letters to Rome, mention was made of Bishop Geddes’ late Journey of more than 500 miles to see some Converts. Bishop Macdonald also represented to Antonelli his growing infirmities, and his great fatigues in travelling over his scattered District, and among distant Islands, and requested permission to have a Coadjutor. The arrangement seemed the more necessary, from the difficulties lately occurring in England, owing to the death of two of the Bishops, without providing Successors. In a private Letter,—[Sept. 12]—he informed the Scotch Agent at Rome, that 500 Catholics had lately emigrated to St. John’s Island, and to Quebec, and no fewer than 600 in South Uist were ready to follow them in Spring. This diminution of their Congregations had reduced some of the Highland Missionaries to great distress. A sufficient number of their Flocks remained to require their Ministry, yet they were them-

selves among the very poorest. Thus, a Mr. Norman Macdonald, “a deserving Clergyman,” out of his pittance of £12 a-year, had to support his mother, his sister, and his niece, since the departure of the most substantial among his people in the preceding Summer. The Bishop had yielded to the importunities of the Highland Settlers in St. John’s Island, and had permitted a Mr. Angus MacEachran, “a valuable young man,” to go out to them. They had also secured the Ministry of a promising Clergyman from Halifax.

Bishop Hay had lately been visiting the Duke of Gordon, at his Shooting Lodge “in the Glen.” Both his Grace and his guest, Lord Findlater, showed the Bishop great politeness. The rainy season prevented the Duke from visiting Sealan, and no opportunity offered, at the Lodge, of speaking to him about a longer Lease of the Seminary.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Sep. 13.] The continued rain retarded the Harvest; the grain had hardly begun to change colour. They were busy making a new bulwark on the Crombie, to replace the one lately swept away by the speat.

Bishop Geddes,—[Sept. 20]—fully admitted the force of his Friend’s recent Protest against yielding to excessive expense in new Chapels, but pleaded that it had always been a distinguishing object with Catholics to have their Places of Worship in decent condition. As for the Chapel in Edinburgh, it was now too small, and some of the people were expressing a wish for a larger one. But Bishop Hay might rely on his Coadjutor’s entering on no such project till he could see means enough. Dr. Webster was, at that time erecting a handsome Episcopalian Chapel, fifty feet square, beyond the Infirmary; and had urged Bishop Geddes to take the second Storey above his Chapel, for a Catholic Place of Worship. If they could agree about it, Dr. Webster offered to raise a Cupola. The Bishop had thanked him, but had declined the offer. The Doctor would hardly take a refusal, and insisted on the matter being referred to Bishop Hay. His Friend did not expect him to relish this strange proposal; but it showed the temper of the times. Bishop Geddes added that in a late Communication from Valladolid, Mr. Cameron had informed him of the impossibility of receiving any more Students till 1792,

in consequence of expense incurred in building a small Country House in the vineyard, together with the late bad years.

Bishop Hay—[To B. Geddes, Sept 30]—in acknowledgment of Dr. Webster's kind offer, returned him his best Compliments, but regretted that circumstances at that time were such as to prevent him from thinking of accepting it. The Bishop strongly reprobated Mr. Cameron's resolution. Surely the loss to the Mission from want of Hands, was of far more importance than delay in paying a trifling debt. He had frequently observed that some Missionaries, as soon as they get to Foreign Colleges, seem all at once to forget the Mission entirely, when it comes into competition with their College. But the Bishops ought not to yield to Mr. Cameron on this point. If Mr. Polemon concurs, Bishop Hay will certainly send boys, when others come home; and if Mr. Cameron should send them back, he must abide the consequences. “It is really a shame to hear such a proposal, and I intend you to write to him strongly on the subject.” The day before the Bishop wrote, the first appearance of settled weather had occurred, since Bishop Geddes' departure; but for fear of frost, which was threatened, every one had begun to “shear,” [reap] though the grain was still half-green.

We trace, at this time, the beginning of a singular episode in our Mission History, in the arrival of five young Students from Portugal, to prosecute their Medical education in Edinburgh. They were soon afterwards joined by two others of their Countrymen, who had previously gone to Denmark for a similar purpose. The Intendant General of Police at Lisbon had employed the mediation of Mr. William Fryer, Superior of the English College there, to secure Bishop Geddes' Co-operation in the arrangements to be made for the accommodation of the Students. Mr. Fryer accordingly corresponded with the Bishop on the subject. The young men were to be sent at the expense of a charitable Institution in which the Queen of Portugal took a deep interest. A House was to be taken for them, and servants engaged, and Bishop Geddes was appointed Superior of their Establishment, with board and lodging provided for him, and a pension of 1000 crowns a-year, on his undertaking to superintend the temporal and spiritual

affairs of the young men. Decency, but not elegance, was to be studied in their table and their dress; and they were to be kept close to their work. Any idle or refractory members of the party were to be sent home at once.

Here was an unexpected increase of the Bishop's cares and responsibilities! He felt it impossible to decline it altogether, though his residence in the same house with the young men was out of the question; and it was arranged that he should render the plan whatever service he could. His reputation had long ago travelled from Madrid to Lisbon, so that her Portuguese Majesty, on hearing that Bishop Geddes had consented to undertake a general Superintendence of the Scheme, had expressed the highest satisfaction—[Mr. Fryer to B. Geddes, Aug. 28] —and it had been settled that the Bishop's pension should be equivalent to £110 a-year, in English money. He took a house for the young men in Chessel's Court, Canongate, and early in October, the young Students began to arrive. Bishop Geddes—[Oct. 5]—in communicating these details to his Friend at Scalau, had some fears that this new addition to his anxieties would not be approved. However, it had been inevitable; and hoping that Providence would make it useful to the common good, he commended it and himself to his Friend's good prayers.

The “Singing Question” threatened to be interminable. No sooner had Bishop Geddes returned home, than a Deputation from the Managers of the Singing School waited on him to receive Bishop Hay's answer about Music in the Chapel. It cost Bishop Geddes some time to reconcile them to its total suppression; at last, however, he succeeded as well as he could have expected. He told them that they were at liberty to write to Bishop Hay; but they thought such an appeal unnecessary.

Before setting out for Glasgow, Bishop Geddes sent Mr. Thomson a summary of his late adventures in the North.—[Oct. 15.] He took an opportunity of reprobating Dr. A. Geddes' late Pamphlet, on the subject of Bishop Gibson's Pastoral; expressing his fears that his poor kinsman was going to ruin altogether; but declaring his own resolution, still to endeavour to be of use to him. Mr. Robert Menzies, the Pastor of St. Andrew's Chapel, was failing in

health, and was at this time trying to recruit a little, by a Tour in the Country. For this purpose, Bishop Geddes advanced him the small sum of £3, out of money in his hand belonging to Bishop Hay, who, on hearing it, returned the following characteristic answer;—[To B. Geddes, Oct. 26]—“It is always in some degree disagreeable, when any use is made of my money without my knowledge, presuming on my consent; first, because it sometimes disappoints my own intentions, when I have not so much as I thought; and, secondly, because it opens a door to some to go too great lengths on such presumption, as you know has been done to me. However, in the present case of Mr. Menzies’ £3, I shall let it pass, as there is no danger of this last from you, and the sum is not deadly. I shall therefore set it down to your credit.”

Regarding the Portuguese colony, the Bishop expressed his sense of the honour done to Scotland by the project, and of its probable advantage to the Mission, but regretted that his Friend should be burdened with a charge so foreign to his principal duties. “It will require a great deal of time and attention to keep these young Students in proper order, and preserve their morals in that corrupted place, and dangerous study. May God Almighty assist. The Queen, indeed, has done very generously to you; I pray God to enable you to employ it properly. I make no doubt but the design of Almighty God in sending you that supply is to enable you to co-operate with me in putting the Mission on an independent footing, and providing for all its straits, and I hope you will always have that end in view.” The Bishop further advised his Friend to keep this addition to his income a dead secret; for if friends came to know of it, he would be pestered without mercy. *Experto crede. . . . I am glad your Musical folks were got satisfied.*”

Of the same date—[Oct. 26]—Bishop Hay furnished Mr. Thomson with the current news of the day, in a long, friendly Letter, enclosing another to Albani, on the hopeless subject of the Scotch Roman College.—[The original draft of this Letter, in Italian, is full of erasures and corrections; affording evidence of the Bishop’s careful emendation and of his slow elaboration of Italian composition.] During the preceding Summer, he told Mr. Thomson he had had some

Correspondence with Mr. Gibson, Missionary at Stella, brother of the late English Bishop of the name. At Mr. Gibson’s desire, the Scottish Bishop had sent him from their last Meeting, their joint opinion against the Oath. There was a rumour that he had been selected to fill his brother’s place; if so, and if a man equally sensible and good should be appointed to London, Bishop Hay made no doubt that the Committee would be thoroughly brought under. He further informed Mr. Thomson that several excellent Pamphlets had been written on “the Catholic side,” on the subject of the Oath; one of these had shown up the fallacious designs of the Committee; maintaining that their sole purpose was to entrap the people, and throw off all connexion with the Holy See. *Scintilla non est extincta in Israel.*

Bishop Hay again reverted to his plans for Sealan. His hope of making it available not only for the supply of foreign “Shops” but as a Seminary for training even “to the highest step,” was gaining strength. He was making arrangements to secure the maintenance of twelve boys permanently. Would Mr. Thomson contribute to this design? At present, the Bishop would ask him only for a supply of School-books. The last he had sent (the *Selecta*) were very acceptable, but being intended for the younger boys, were fast wearing out. Such of the Classics as needed purgation were not to be met with in this Country, in a purified form. Could Mr. Thomson find a few copies of Terence and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* expurgated, they would be most acceptable. Rollin had praised a work entitled *Terentius Christianus*. Mr. Thomson might send that, if he could find it, together with any of Cicero’s Philosophical Works, with good Notes. For the Bishop’s own studies, he might send Boserviech’s *Comic Sections*, by the first occasion. A parcel of Beads, Crosses, &c., would also be very acceptable and useful. Owing to the late rainy Harvest, they had still a great deal to do, and the whole to get in. The Bishop’s health continued pretty good; but his memory decayed daily; “*fiat voluntas Dei!* *Quotidie tui memores sumus intra Sacra Mysteria.* I hope you do the like to me, who ever am with great regard and affection, &c.”

Bishop Geddes spent the 21st and the 22d

Sundays after Pentecost at Glasgow, where everything went on well. The House where the Catholics met, had been taken on lease for another year, and with permission of Mr. Wilson, the landlord, the partitions had been removed.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 4.] Mr. Menzies had returned from his country excursion, prettywell. The seven Portuguese Students had arrived, October 21st. Bishop Geddes assured his Friend that whatever money he could command should, with a very few necessary exceptions, be applied to the great end which both of them had principally at heart. He was however, in doubt between present exigencies and future advantages. He recommended Bishop Hay to treat in a friendly manner, with Mr. Cameron at Valladolid, about taking boys the following year. The best piece of news he reserved till the end of his Letter. The new Vicars Apostolic for England were Mr. John Douglas (Casaricen) for London, and Mr. William Gibson (Accaniten) for the North.

A few days later,—[Nov. 11]—Bishop Geddes communicated further intelligence to his Friend at Sealan. Referring to the state of the country Schools alluded to in Bishop Hay's Letter of January 3, 1790, he had lately an opportunity of setting matters to rights. One evening, at supper, meeting a Mr. Kemp, a Clerical gentleman officially connected with the management of Schools, Bishop Geddes proposed to him that the Catholic children should not be required to learn the Assembly Catechism in the Charity Schools. The Company at once joined the Bishop in saying that it was a hardship. Mr. Kemp turned off this direct appeal, humorously assuring his friends that he was not endowed with a dispensing power. The Bishop insisted on his having a permissive and discretionary power; two other ministers and some ladies supporting the Bishop's plea, "in the pleasant way of company." At parting, Mr. Kemp took him by the hand, and said that in company he felt under some restraint, but that he wished to have some private conversation with the Bishop, and to settle the matter in an amicable manner. It was understood that Mr. Fleming would be removed to some distance from the Braes of Glenlivat. . . . "I am much tempted," the Bishop adds, "to envy your solitude, and I am truly heartily wearied

of the world; but am afraid that even this may arise from self-love, and an inclination to indolence and ease. The best surely, is to do what appears to be the Will of God; this, I would certainly wish to do; everything else is vanity, and even affliction of spirit. I know you pray for me." Mrs. Trail, together with her child and her sister, had by this time taken up her residence in Edinburgh. Sharp at Ratisbon had taken the Habit, and Dawson distinguished himself in the Schools.

Bishop Geddes lived so much in the way of news, that he soon had more to communicate to his secluded Friend.—[Nov. 15.] A Decree of the French Assembly, dated the 28th Oct., was in favour of the Scotch Colleges in France. He had lately met Mr. Andrew Stuart, the adviser of the Douglas process. It was he who had mentioned the Scotch College in Paris to Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Leeds, and had prevailed on them to send a Despatch to the British Minister at Paris, on the subject. There was a project on foot for the purchase of the Papers belonging to the College, by the British Nation; and Mr Pitt was disposed, it was said, to treat generously. The appointment of Mr. Gibson to the Northern Vicariate in England, gave general dissatisfaction.

We learn from a Letter of Mr. Thomson's,—[To B. Geddes, Nov. 20]—that the National Assembly of France had passed a Provisional Decree, leaving the Scotch Colleges there as they were, on the ground that they did not belong to the French Nation. Bishop Macdonald's application for a Coadjutor had been favourably received at Rome.

The Scottish Bishops offered the Bishop of Rhodelz their common thanks for the active interest he had taken in the National Colleges. Mr. Farquharson forwarded from Douay the reply of that Prelate; it evinced his friendly dispositions, and held out good hopes of success.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 23.] The Bishop of Arras dared not shew himself in his Diocese. Much confusion was expected in Spirituals, and all eyes were turned to Rome to see how his Holiness would steer his course. The "United Order" in France appeared determined neither to surrender nor to extend their Jurisdiction, by sanctioning fewer and larger Dioceses, as the Assembly had decreed.

Bishop Hay discusses with his Friend, Mr. Cameron's refusal to take boys for a year, and directs Bishop Geddes to offer, as a compromise, to send three boys only, next year. At the same time, he seriously questions the Rector's right to accept or refuse boys, independently of "Physicians" at home. His duty was to state his circumstances to them, the number of his vacancies, and other particulars, and consult with them, as to filling the vacancies, or not. Dr. Reid's Work on the Human Understanding, which Bishop Geddes had sent to Sealan, would serve perhaps for two or three Winters, as Bishop Hay had little leisure for study, beyond the necessary routine of the Seminary. He sent his best respects to Mrs. Trail, and the young ladies; begging leave to assure them of most sincere wishes for everything good, to follow them in Time and Eternity. Regarding Mr. Andrew Stuart, he suggests that Bishop Geddes should let him know that the [Stuart] Papers at Grisy, were not the Property of that College, but a Deposit, merely; and that their owners were the Scottish Catholics as a Body. The Bishop had heard that the Papers left by the Archbishop of Glasgow were to be returned to Glasgow, if Religion should ever be restored in Scotland. Part of the price to be paid for those Papers might perhaps be allotted to the Mission. But the Bishop was quite aware of the extreme delicacy of the negociation; he only suggested it, as deserving of his Friend's consideration.

The Memorial on the subject of the National Colleges in France, which Bishop Geddes had carried round for Signature among the Catholic Gentry, had its weight with the Assembly; and the Provision to Douay College was voted permanent.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Dec. 17.] Bishop Gibson was Consecrated at Sulworth Castle, by Bishop Walmisley, on the second Sunday in Advent. Bishop Douglas was expecting the same Ceremony for himself at the hands of Bishop Talbot, in a few days, at the same place. Bishop Geddes had lately heard from Dr Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, who begged him to present his respects to Bishop Hay, and to assure him of his "unutterable esteem;" adding "I have encouraged the republication of his Polemical Tracts here. They have rendered signal service to the cause of Religion. The Second Dublin Edition of the *Sincere*, De-

*vout, and Pious Christian* is now in my printer's press, and will be speedily published. The *Scripture Doctrine on Miracles* was published last year." Bishop Geddes, in conclusion, wished his Friend a happy Christmas "to you and yours." He had dined last Friday at Oxenford Castle, with Sir John Dalrymple; whom he put in mind of his promise of sending a Copy of his Memoirs to Bishop Hay,

Mr. Menzies' constitution was rapidly failing. Mr. Robertson also was laid aside for several weeks by illness; Bishop Geddes, therefore, was never more occupied than at this time; besides his ordinary and extraordinay duties, he had his Portuguese Students also on his hands.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Dec. 18.] Bishop Cary had been Consecrated for America, on the Feast of the Assumption, at Sulworth Castle. Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* had been well received—15,000 Copies had been sold in a few weeks. It had met with Opponents; but Bishop Geddes thought it likely to do much good, in the present crisis. "Remember the Memoirs of the Mission; go on, I beg it of you."

Bishop Hay was, at this time, especially anxious about the New Constitution of the Scotch College, Paris, in the event of its being preserved.—[To B. Geddes, Dec. 26.] The Prior of the Carthusians being deprived of his office, were the present Masters to become Superiors, subject to no control. It was his opinion that unless the College was placed under the authority of the Scottish Bishops, it would never be of much service to the Mission. He requested Bishop Geddes, on the first opportunity, to return his most respectful Compliments to the Archbishop of Dublin. "It is a comfort to think that my small endeavours are doing good anywhere." With an eye to business, he suggests that this would be a good opportunity to get 200 Copies of *The Sincere Christian*, which is much wanted, at a cheaper rate than they could be printed in Scotland. He also asks for the Archbishop's address, as he wishes to make his acquaintance; concluding by sincerely wishing Bishop Geddes, and all Friends with him, "a large share of the Blessings of this Holy Season, and many happy returns."

In the middle of January, 1791, there was such an appearance of a long and a severe

Winter, that Bishop Hay thought it necessary to propose that the Holy Oils should be consecrated at Edinburgh, if not very inconvenient for his Coadjutor; it was a severe hardship to make the Missionaries around Sealan leave their homes and travel in such weather, and on such roads as those were, with the risk of being "stormstayed" in Holy Week at the Seminary.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Jan. 17, 1791.] As for the expense attending the Ceremony of the Holy Oils, the Bishop would pay either the half or the whole, as his Coadjutor pleased; only let the place be determined in good time that the Missionaries might know to whom to apply. The Bishop being, as he said, "so lame in writing Latin," expressed a wish that his Friend had sent him a draft of an answer to the Nuncio's polite Letter. News of Principal Gordon's infirm health had reached the Bishop, who remarked, "I wish it may make him think seriously, for the good of his soul." He gladly embraced an accidental opportunity of sending his letter down to Keith.

Three weeks later, the continued severity of the season still interrupted the Post between Keith and the Seminary; they were obliged to trust to a chancery messenger for their Letters. A Case of Wine, on its way from Edinburgh to the Seminary, was detained by the same cause at Hardhaugh, near Mortlach, about twenty miles from its destination.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Feb. 8.] At the request of Mr Farquharson, Rector of Douay, the Bishop had prepared a Letter of thanks to the Bishop of Rhodez for his services. "I never was good at Letters of compliment," he adds, "and am now worse than before, being more out of practice; however, I have done my best; and if not fine, at least, it will not weary by its length." He was engaged in perusing Reid *On the Intellectual Powers*, and with pleasure. The reply of Propaganda to "Mr. Polemon's" application for a Coadjutor, had reached Scotland; Antonelli was favourable to it, and the person was to be proposed at the next Meeting of the Bishops.

Bishop Geddes was at Glasgow the second and third Sundays after Epiphany. There were twenty-nine Communicants; and, among his little Congregation, he observed with pleasure five or six Soldiers in uniform. Some Protestants

of note, and among others, the Procurator-Fiscal, wished to be present at Mass; but Bishop Geddes thought it more prudent to ask them not to come, as their presence might excite too much attention, and their only motive seemed to be one of curiosity. Some of the wealthier merchants had declared in private company their willingness to contribute something to the maintenance of a Catholic Priest in the Town, in order to show the world that they were not so bigoted in Glasgow as it was commonly supposed. Mr. Wilson, Town Clerk, and Proprietor of the House in which the Catholics assembled, assured the Bishop one night, in the course of a long conversation, that prejudices against Catholics had subsided, within the previous three or four years, more completely than he could at one time have thought possible.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 10.] The good citizens of Glasgow deceived themselves if they attributed the decrease of their bigotry to any advance that they had made in real liberality. A motive of self-interest, was at the bottom of any improvement that had taken place. The late Dr. Cleland, certainly no Catholic, although living on terms of friendship with his kinsman, Bishop Hay, formally testifies that when, in 1791, the great tide of emigration from the North Highlands threatened to drain the country of its hardy mountaineers, Messrs George Macintosh, David Dale, Robert Dalgleish, and some others of the capitalist Manufacturers, invited the Highlanders to Glasgow; and as an inducement to the Catholics among them, security in the exercise of their Religious Worship was promised them. The Tennis Court in Mitchell Street was first taken on lease as a temporary Chapel.—[Cleland's *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Glasgow*, 76, 77.]

During Bishop Geddes' absence from Edinburgh, Mr. Macpherson supplied the place of the Bishop, and of the two invalid Missionaries. There seemed to be a preponderance of difficulties against the Consecration of the Holy Oils at Edinburgh, on account of Bishop Geddes' excessive occupation, the weak health of his Assistants, and the great distances at which others resided. Bishop Hay had ten Priests within twenty miles of Sealan, and with a dry reflection on the Arctic climate of the Seminary, his Coadjutor added, "It will be hard

if they cannot travel by April 20th. How-ever, I shall cheerfully do what you shall judge best, *very cheerfully.*"—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 10.] Bishop Geddes was then so much engaged in the detail of his Pastoral duties as to have no time or leisure for thinking of anything of consequence, or for doing things that he wished to do, not to speak of doing them well. He had begun to regret much that Bishop Hay was buried at Sealan.

Bishop Hay—[To B. Geddes, March 2]—acknowledged the force of his Friend's reasons for having the Holy Oils consecrated at Sealan, which was therefore settled. With regard to his Friend's difficulties in providing "Viaticies" or travelling expenses for Boys, on their way to Foreign Colleges, he made Bishop Geddes welcome to any money of his that happened to be available, till a supply should come. The next Dividend of the Bank of Scotland, he hoped would be something considerable. The Bishop's object in proposing to write to Archbishop Troy was to procure the insertion of a Postscript at the *Inquiry in The Sincere Christian*; but as it was probably too late he had abandoned the idea; a singular proof that he was still anxious about that critical Chapter. The last news from Glasgow gave him sincere pleasure, and good cause to hope that God in His mercy would be pleased to give Religion a footing in that Place; but how to get it and other Vacancies supplied, was what the Bishop could not see. No doubt, he observed, the acquisition of new Places was much to be wished; but even so, he could not reconcile his mind to expose older Missions to the danger of being lost. The first care seemed to be to supply present Vacancies; but as this was the year for the Meeting of the Administrators, it would be best to wait, and take their advice about it. As for his own situation at Sealan, he did not see how he could help his Friend better, anywhere else. He scarcely thought himself equal to the charge of a Mission, and, even if he were residing in one, he would be as much buried as at Sealan, unless he were to live with his Friend at Edinburgh. He being at Sealan supplied the place of an able Missionary; and, he was disposed to think, promised not to be altogether in vain, as regarded the interests of the Seminary. The thorough reformation, both externally and internally, which

the place required, could have been effected only under the immediate superintendence of Bishop Geddes or himself. In the course of a few years he hoped, with the Divine permission, to make the Seminary a lasting benefit to the Mission; but it would require time, thought, and observation. On the whole, it seemed to him that he could do as much good at Sealan, as anywhere else.

A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen had applied to Bishop Hay, for a Dispensation for his Marriage, which the Bishop had refused. He took the refusal in good part, but thought it strange that the Bishop and his Coadjutor should have two opposite opinions on the point. On this, Bishop Hay observes with a little asperity,—[To B. Geddes, March 2]— "It is indeed a pity that we should differ upon this, or any other such Affair; but as the ultimatum must lie on my conscience, as long as I hold my present place, it is, perhaps, a greater pity that in such cases my determination should be forestalled by a contrary one; but by the account he sent me, I am apt to think that he has not represented the case in the same manner to us both."

Bishop Geddes—[To B. Hay, March 17]—at once acknowledged that he had been in error in forestalling his Friend's opinion in the affair of the Dispensation, and expressed regret for it. He was much oppressed with labour in consequence of the continued illness of Mr. Menzies and Mr. Robertson, who were, however, rather better. Mr. Robertson had removed to a room in the house occupied by the Portuguese colony, in Chessel's Buildings. Bishop Geddes' own health was good, but he was in the fifty-sixth year of his age. "Though I begin to feel some wish for rest, yet I shall labour, with God's assistance, as long as I can; but I must tell you when I cannot reach near to what is to be done. May our good God help and direct us!" He was very sensible of the great good that his Friend was doing at Sealan, and he should be sorry to see him confined to a particular Mission; what he desired was that circumstances would permit Bishop Hay to inspect many of the Missions, to direct, to supply, and even to correct with more particular care than the Bishops were then able to do.

Bishop Geddes had lately had two or three

friendly confreres with Mr. Kemp, who had promised to exempt Catholic children from the necessity of learning the Protestant ("Assembly's") Catechism, acknowledging that it was not suited to the instruction of young, or of ignorant persons. Catholic children in the country Charity Schools should be taught only to Read and Write, and do a little Arithmetic; and, "with regard to Religion, to make them acquainted with the Morality and History of the Scripture, especially of the Gospels. For this purpose, he has a plan in view, which is, I think, not a bad one. It is to draw up a set of proper Questions, without subjoining the Answers, but only the Chapter where they may be met with, that the children may look for them there themselves. I have given him Challoner's History of the Old and New Testament, and Fleury's Catechism, to be of use to him, in executing his plan, in which he promises to put nothing controverted between us. On these conditions I have promised to do all I can to make the Charity Schools be frequented by our children; and from what you told me, I am persuaded you will approve of what I have done." Bishop Geddes added that his time was much taken up by Foreigners. Besides his Portuguese colony, the Primate of Poland, who was then in London, meditated a visit to Edinburgh. Bishop Hay must surely come up to compliment "his Highness;" unless the Primate should prefer paying his respects to the Bishop in his Episcopal Palace at Scalau. "But little time have I for jesting."

Bishop Hay had been perusing Mr. Burke's Work on the French Revolution—[To B. Geddes, March 22.] The Statesman's apprehension of the contagion spreading across the Channel to Britain, had made him push his conclusions to the utmost limits; so it seemed to the Bishop; to whom, indeed, many of the facts alleged were entirely new. But, assuming their truth, which, attested by so great an authority as Mr. Burke's, it was impossible to doubt, Bishop Hay professed himself deeply affected by the state of the French Nation, and considered their misery as one of the heaviest judgments that in his experience had ever been inflicted on a people. The condition of France, in general, naturally excited in the Bishop's mind a keen anxiety for the safety of the Scottish Seminaries there.

He especially dreaded the kind of instruction which would probably be provided in the Universities; and, if the Civic Oath should be imposed on the "masters of shops," what might not be feared? Might their refusal to take it not be made a handle to annul the Seminaries, and seize their property? The Bishop communicated to his Friend his vain wish that the Scottish property in France could be withdrawn from that doomed Country. His recent studies also embraced Dr. Reid's Work on the Intellectual Powers, which had pleased him so much as to re-invite him to a second perusal. He regretted, however, that in so valuable a Work, anything should be inserted which could in the least degree diminish the claim of the Author on the esteem of every intelligent reader. The Bishop could therefore wish that, in a future Edition, Dr. Reid would correct the assertion that Malebranch was a Jesuit, which he makes with a view to account for Arnauld's opposition to the French Philosophers. Malebranch was, in fact, an Oratorian, and his associates were, in general, united in sentiments with Arnauld's party in their controversy with the Jesuits. Another passage in Dr. Reid's Work had vexed the Bishop; it related to Transubstantiation. Every well-instructed Catholic must perceive that the Professor spoke without knowledge of the subject; nor would it be difficult to show, from his own principles, that nothing is more consistent with his theory of Philosophy than the Catholic doctrine regarding that Mystery. "I once had thoughts of writing to him," the Bishop adds, "but I——[sic.]" He requests Bishop Geddes to oblige him with a perusal of Dr. Reid's Treatise on the Active Powers. Sir John Dalrymple had lately made Bishop Hay a present of his Historical Work, in return for which, Bishop Geddes was authorised to offer Sir John Bishop Hay's respectful compliments and kindest thanks for his valuable present, and to assure him that it gave the Bishop positive pleasure to find that he still possessed a place in Sir John's remembrance. The Bishop would ever retain a grateful sense of his friendship, and wished that it were in his power to serve him or his. With a view to affording his Friend some relief from his heavy burden in Edinburgh, Bishop Hay now proposed to appoint a Priest to the Office of Procurator, who should exchange

residence with Mr. Robertson. The choice should be made at the Bishops' Meeting. He concluded a long Letter with a little plan for furnishing his Seminary with some useful articles without further outlay of money, at the same time that a worthy tradesman should be relieved at a cheap rate from an obligation under which he lay to the Bishop. Mr. Bagnal, the Manufacturer of Staffordshire Pottery at Glasgow, owed Bishop Hay a considerable balance, for which the Bishop never intended to trouble him. It might be formally cancelled on very easy terms; if Mr. Bagnal would provide the Seminary with a complete assortment of stoneware, necessary for that Establishment, together with a double set of such things as were in most constant use, according to a list with which the Bishop would furnish him, all his bonds should be returned to him discharged, "for I wish both to have all my affairs settled in my own lifetime to prevent all difficulties that might otherwise arise after my death, and as I wish him and his family very well, I am willing to settle with him on such terms as may be of some use to me, or mine after me, and at the easiest rate I can think of for him."

The question of Catholic Schools gained daily in importance; it was now felt to be desirable to secure a Catholic Master in Edinburgh. An Irishman, described as similar to the master lately employed in Glenlivat, had been for some time engaged by Bishop Geddes; but as the Glenlivat master had failed, so too had this man been dismissed for similar reasons. The Bishop now proposed to secure a man named John Torry, at a salary of £15 a-year. He might have a School of forty or fifty hopeful children. —[B. Geddes to B. Hay, March 24.] Bishop Hay at the same time was looking out for a Master for Glenlivat and for another to supply Aberdeen. He succeeded in procuring them at a salary of £5 a-year. It seemed to him a legitimate application of the Seat-Rents in Edinburgh, to pay the Schoolmaster's salary.—[To B. Geddes, April 21.]

The Winter was long and late this year at Sealan. Field-labour was, in consequence, seriously retarded, and "everybody was now on the catch of every fair blink, to do what they can in it."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, March 27.] The Bishop highly approved of Mr. Kemp's

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liberal plans for the Country Schools, and hoped they would succeed to the wish of all concerned. He suggested Mr. Macpherson as most eligible for the Procuratorship at Edinburgh, and for an exchange with Mr. Robertson; but, if Bishop Geddes had any better arrangement in view, it should meet with his Friend's hearty concurrence. As to certain pecuniary wants, he considered that all he could spare, even to restricting himself, would be applied to the best use in relieving present exigencies.

Bishop Geddes—[To B. Hay, April 8]—communicated to his Friend, news of the death of Lady Margaret Stewart. Next day, he must attend the body to Traquair. He found the wants of the Mission so pressing as to render it impossible for him to attend to the Portuguese colony. He, therefore, meditated the resignation of that charge. Mr. Robertson was recovering, but very slowly, and Mr. Menzies was threatened with ague. Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels, was then in Edinburgh; after Low Sunday he was going to England, to marry a Miss Weseby. It was still a great secret; but Bishop Geddes had his express permission to inform Bishop Hay of it, with his respectful compliments, and beg the Bishop's Blessing and Prayers. Mr. Menzies' cousin of Kirkecnel, then in London, was also on the eve of his marriage with a Miss Scroop. The disputes in the Catholic Body in England were reported by him, as likely to be amicably settled.

In a later Communication—[To B. Hay, April 14]—Bishop Geddes discusses several matters of business. He had sounded Mr. Robertson about the proposed exchange of Missions; the Monk at first declined, but afterwards said that he would do as the Bishops pleased. "After all, as you have often seen," adds Bishop Geddes, "it is not easy to get people to do what they dislike." The Congregation in Edinburgh required fully all the labour of two active Missionaries; one Priest could hardly undertake the Procuratorship, together with the charge of a Congregation. Ten years ago, Bishop Geddes thought he could do so, but experience taught him to change his mind. The Procuratorship was not employment enough for one man, but the care of the People gave a man full occupation, if he discharged his duty even tolerably well. Bishop Geddes would gladly be relieved

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of his charge of the People, and of the Procuratorship, or of the first only ; in that case he could easily undertake the public Correspondence, the inspection of the Southern Missions and the charge of Glasgow. But all five employments, as they at present devolved on him, were too much. Mr. Burke seemed to him too declamatory ; but the substance of his Work, in his opinion, was very just. A Schism had actually been formed in France. The Bishops of Autun, of Orleans, and of Sens, alone had complied with their duty. New Bishops had been named, and some of them Consecrated. Friends in England, as it seemed to Bishop Geddes, had lost a good opportunity by their want of unanimity. As regarded "French Shops," how necessary it was, in the present crisis of affairs, that one or both of the Bishops in Scotland should be so free from a particular Charge, as to have time to pray, and think, and write, and consult on what was best in the perilous circumstances of the time.

Mr. William Guthrie, designated as son of the deceased Thomas Guthrie of Blackhouse, Parish of Peterhead, executed a holograph Will and Testament,—[April 19]—at Mortlach, in which he disposed of his whole effects to the Bishops.

Early in the morning of Maunday Thursday, (April 21,) Bishop Hay wrote on business to his Coadjutor, before the Office of the day began, that his Letter might go down to Keith when all was over. He concluded by saying, "The time is advancing, so I must defer the rest till another time." The sublime Rite of Blessing the Holy Oils, was about to be performed in that poor, secluded Place, under bare rafters, and in a Chamber fifteen feet square.

Bishop Geddes took the same view as his Friend, as to applying a part of the Chapel Seat-Rents at Edinburgh, to pay the Salary of a Schoolmaster.—[To B. Hay, May 2.] He adds, however, "the fancy, now, is to apply these savings, and what else we can procure, to the building of a much larger Chapel, in a better part of the Town than this dirty Wynd, which is become despicable, and is reckoned so unwholesome." He was resolved not to embark rashly in such a Project, but first, to get clear of the debt already incurred by past ventures of a similar kind. His companions, Mr. Menzies and Mr. Robertson, were still in wretched health,

and he himself had again to visit Glasgow on the third and fourth Sundays after Easter.

Early in June, Bishop Hay went down to the Enzie, for Pentecost Sunday ; thence passing on by Anchentoul and Fetternear, he intended to reach Aberdeen that week, and to remain there till Thursday or Friday after Trinity Sunday ; after that he should return home.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, May 30.] Mr. Bagnal had accepted the arrangement proposed by the Bishop for cancelling his debt, and Bishop Hay now sent a list of things that he wanted, hoping that though they were numerous, Mr. Bagnal would not think them out of proportion to the value of his bonds. When they were shipped to Aberdeen, the bonds would be given up to Mr. Bagnal, with the Bishop's blessing.

Bishop Geddes' visit to Glasgow lasted ten days. He Received thirty-four Converts, Baptized five children, and made some arrangements for the future.—[To B. Hay, June 2.] He had heard at last from Principal Gordon, with a remittance of money. The Principal promised a longer Letter, meanwhile Bishop Geddes advises his Friend to write to the Nuncio, and to the Prior of the Carthusians, commanding to their care the interests of the Scotch College at Paris, and expressing his hope that nothing should be finally done without the knowledge of the Scottish Bishops. He alludes incidentally to the English Oath which had been amended in the House of Commons, but to his mind still seemed exceptional. He should hardly regret if the Lords were to reject the Bill.

In accordance with the suggestions of his Coadjutor, Bishop Hay communicated with the Nuncio, and with the Prior of the Carthusians, at Paris, requesting their assistance and protection in behalf of Douay College, in the first instance ; if their answer should be favourable, he would then prefer the same request for Grisy.—[To B. Geddes, June 7.] He also enclosed to Bishop Geddes, a Procuration, in his own name and in his Coadjutor's, for Principal Gordon, with whom he also associated Messrs Innes and Farquharson, the one, the head of Douay College, and the other, the Prefect of Studies at Paris. Bishop Geddes, however, with his instinctive tact, feared that the Principal might resent the proposal to give him Associates with-

out first consulting him; he, therefore, endeavoured to smooth the way to compliance by begging the Principal to forget the past, and aim only at the good of Religion in his own Country.

Bishop Geddes had again the sole burden of the Edinburgh Mission. Mr. Robertson was recruiting at Munches; Mr. Menzies laid up with ague.—[To B. Hay, June 9.] “I am not, I think, impatient, nor disheartened, nor in bad health; but I must own that I feel myself oppressed, and between you and me, I apprehend that a continuance of this situation must shorten my life considerably. To this, I have no objection, if it be necessary for God's glory; nor do I desire that any one be incommoded on my account. I only tell you what I think I ought not to conceal from you.” The Bishop further informs his Friend that the Catholic Bill had passed; the Oath being the same as the Irish one of 1774. The day before writing he had an agreeable and satisfactory Conference with Mr. Kemp, who repeatedly promised that nothing should be required of Catholic children attending the Schools under his direction, inconsistent with their Religion; and that the Protestant Catechism should not be taught them. In a Postscript he mentions that Bishop Hay's Works, in the new Irish Edition, were selling rapidly; so Wogan, the Publisher in Dublin, had lately told him. They were in seven volumes. He was getting over two hundred Copies of *The Sincere Christian*.

Bishop Hay, who was now at Lichieston, in the Enzie, sympathised with his Friend's sufferings. “Your health is of too much importance to be exposed even to the danger of being hurt. In the meantime, you will, I doubt not, keep good courage, and consider the present distress as only a temporary trial, sent upon us for His own good ends by our Divine Master, who will relieve us when he sees fit. No doubt it is distressing when one sees where good may and should be done, and yet cannot get it accomplished; but we have this comfort, that what we cannot help will not be laid to our charge; and it is easy for Almighty God to supply what may be wanting on our part, in such cases.”—[To B. Geddes, June 12.] The Bishop desired his Friend to let Mr. Kemp know that the Braes of Glenlivat, the District

around Sealan, stood much in need of a Teacher suitable to the poor population. If Mr. Kemp would send such a person, and would guarantee his fulfilment of what had been promised in regard to the poor Catholic children, Bishop Hay undertook to encourage the people to send their children to his School, and would willingly subscribe £1 a-year out of his own pocket, as a small help to him. When Mr. Kemp visited that Country, the Bishop hoped he would make Sealan his residence. John Ingram had been left in charge of the Seminary, in the Bishop's absence. The day after the date of his Letter, the Bishop was to leave for Aberdeen, but expected to be a week on the road.

While he was in the Enzie, he called at Preshome, and sat an hour with Mr. Reid, a sign that he wished to efface some unpleasant recollections.—[Mr. J. Reid to B. Geddes, June 22.] The handsome Tabernacle, which Bishop Geddes had lately presented to the new Chapel at Preshome, gave general pleasure, and delighted every eye.

Bishop Hay was at Aberdeen, June 23d. That day he expressed his pleasure that his Foreign packet of the 7th inst., had met with his Coadjutor's approval,—[To B. Geddes]—and hoped that God Almighty, in His goodness, would grant the wished-for success; at all events, as they had now done their best, they must leave the issue to His adorable Providence, who only knows what is proper and suitable to his wise and bounteous designs. All Bishop Geddes' Enzie friends were well, and desired their best wishes to be sent him. The day after the date of his Letter, Bishop Hay was to set out for Sealan; “praying Almighty God to support you, and wishing you all health and happiness.”

By the beginning of July, the Bishop was again at the Seminary. He had just heard from London of the general rejoicing among the English Catholics, at the passing of their Bill. The Oath appeared to him inexceptionable. Even Bishop Douglas made no objection to it.—[To B. Geddes, July 3.] With a natural partiality to the side of the English Bishops, their Scottish brother ventured to think that Providence had now fairly decided in favour of the Bishops, against the Committee and its plans. “God grant us happy issue.”

Bishop Hay had now finished Dr. Reid's Treatise on the Active Powers, which had much pleased him. But it gave him real pain, at the same time, to see a person of Dr. Reid's abilities and penetration, lose himself so often, in speaking against the Catholic tenets in a manner which shewed him to be speaking of what he knew nothing.

On the eve of leaving Edinburgh for the Bishops' Meeting, taking Glasgow in his way, Bishop Geddes sent his Friend at Sealan several little fragments of news.—[July 14.] As he had anticipated, Principal Gordon refused to act with the associates Bishop Hay had proposed to him. Two Letters of his would be laid before the meeting of the Bishops. Miss Glendonwyn of Parton had been Received into the Church, a fortnight ago, by Mr. Fraser. She had been very ill, but was then better, and was in Edinburgh. Mrs. Goldie, another Convert, was also in Town; the Bishop had every reason to think well of her. Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels, and his bride were that evening expected in Town. Sir John Lawson and his Lady had just left it, highly pleased with it. The Bishop hoped to meet his Friend at Sealan, about the 24th inst.

The news of the English Catholic Relief Bill gave general joy in Rome; the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the event, to the Cardinals assembled on St. Peter's Day.—[Mr. Thomson to B. Hay, July 29.] Mr. Thomson had been ailing, but was now recovered. Many Refugees from France had fled to Rome.

The three Scottish Bishops and the Administrators met this year at Gibston, near Huntly, early in August. Their Annual Letters are dated August 10. They informed Propaganda that the pressure of persecution had ceased in Scotland; that many decent Chapels were rising all over the Country; but that, on the other hand, a serious emigration, amounting to 2000 Catholics, from the Highlands to Canada and St. John's Island had recently taken place. However useful it might be to American Catholicity, the Bishops feared that it might operate unfavourably on the state of Religion at home. In consequence of the difficulty of maintaining the Clergy, they had begun to induce the people to contribute to their support, and with good results, as they hoped; but it was an

innovation that required time and great prudence. Mr. Polemon requested that Mr. John Chisholm, a worthy Priest in the District of Strathglass, might be appointed his Coadjutor. It was Mr. Polemon's last meeting with his Brethren. His increasing deafness gave his Colleagues pain, but he bore it very well, and they hoped it might go off. It was a very agreeable Meeting; perfect concord prevailed, and Bishop Hay was, in consequence, remarkably cheerful. It so happened that none of the old Administrators were present. Gibston, where it was held this year, and in 1788, is described by Bishop Geddes, as a house built about a quarter of a mile to the northwest of the town (farm offices) and house of Gibston on the braeside, at the head of the land.—[To Mr. J. Thomson, Sept. 1.] Mr. C. Maxwell, who had a small Farm there, had built the house where the Bishops met, a few years ago; it contained two rooms, a few small closets, and a kitchen. The Members of the Meeting whom the house could not receive, were accommodated in some of the neighbouring cottages.

Besides the ordinary Annual business, the Bishops and Administrators were obliged to give their serious attention to the critical state of the National Colleges in France. It was resolved that Bishop Geddes should go to France as the Representative of the Scottish Mission interests at Douay and Paris. Although Messrs Farquharson and Innes had been urging this plan, during the early part of the year, Bishop Geddes did not like it, nor think it practicable. However, it was decided on unanimously at the Meeting; and he agreed to go and make the best of it. Principal Gordon's behaviour all along, in regard to the affairs of Grisy, made it a Mission of extreme delicacy, not to speak of the personal danger incurred by a British Subject who ventured into the agitated elements of the advancing Revolution. The object proposed to Bishop Geddes by the Meeting, was, in the name of the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, to receive from the Prior of the Carthusians the Property entrusted to his Predecessors, by Archbishop Beaton; to place the Colleges at Paris and Douay on a satisfactory footing; and if it should be found necessary, to sell their whole Property and transfer its value elsewhere.

It was now the turn of Bishop Geddes to resign the Procuratorship, to which Mr. Paul Macpherson was appointed, with the understanding that the following Summer he should remove to Edinburgh, where he was already popular.

The same day as the Annual Letters were despatched, Bishop Hay addressed his Friend, Mr. Thomson, in a long Letter, filled with the local news of the day. The Books had come safely from Rome; the Works of St. Teresa, Storghenan, Cicero's Epistles, &c. Mr. Thomson is commissioned to thank the Bishop's kind Friend, Mr. Waters, for what he had sent, especially for St. Teresa's works. He hoped God would reward him. The Bishop had kept his health, last Winter, better than for many years before. He had not even had a cold; yet the weather had been very variable, in a constant rotation of frost, snow, rain and strong winds, every twelve or fifteen days. Notwithstanding his improved health he was becoming daily more and more sensible of the harbingers of approaching age, particularly in his memory; he was subject, at times, to a confusion of ideas, which rendered him incapable of collecting his thoughts on the subject in hand. Boys were soon to be sent to Rome, but when was the National College there to send home any assistance? It was reported that Mr. James Sharp might be expected next Summer. There was much need of him; when was he to come.\* Pitfodels had, at last, got a lady from Lancashire, a Miss Wescby, of small fortune indeed, but of good Family, and of a very amiable character. All his friends were much gratified. "May Almighty God grant His blessing." The Bishop consults Mr. Thomson on giving Dispensations to Marry, within the second degree, (first cousins.) He was in general very averse to granting them. It had lately been urged upon him, as a reason for taking a more liberal view of them, that they encouraged Catholics to Marry with one another. The Bishop, however, was not thoroughly satisfied with this reason; yet, without rejecting it as insufficient, he had

dismissed the Application in another way. He would wish Mr. Thomson to ask Cardinal Antonelli's opinion, and to report it for his private direction. "You will no doubt have heard that our good Lord has, in His blessed Providence, granted an entire victory to the Vicar Apostolic in England, over the Committee projects, and thus rewarded their firmness and constancy. Parliament itself, was the instrument of this victory, showed a greater regard to the consciences of Catholics than their own Committee, and adopted an Oath against which there can be no solid objection."

The Bishop then proceeds to inform Mr. Thomson of the resolution of the Meeting to send Bishop Geddes to France. Principal Gordon, who had hitherto acted entirely on his own opinion, without communicating his views to any one, affirmed that he had acted all along with the concurrence of the late Nuncio at Paris, who had now returned to Rome. It was much feared, however, that the Principal had misled his Excellency. Mr. Thomson would do well to wait on him in the Bishop's name, and inquire as to what had passed between him and Mr. Gordon, and beg him to put his auditor, who still remained at Paris, on his guard against the plans of the Principal, until they could be investigated, and the authority under which he acted could be produced. Mr. John Farquharson had all along behaved like himself, and had given the Bishops the most entire satisfaction in his whole conduct. It would be well that Mr. Thomson should inform the late Nuncio at Paris, of Bishop Geddes' mission to France, that the Auditor might receive a hint to promote his views. But Principal Gordon must know nothing of it, until the Bishop is on the spot. It would be some weeks before he could set out; and in his absence, it had been arranged that Bishop Hay should once more take up his residence in Edinburgh, for the Winter. Regarding Mr. Macdonald's choice of a Coadjutor, Bishop Hay could not help much approving of it. Mr. Chisholm had twice attended the Annual Meetings, and on these occasions the Bishop had had several private Conversations with him, on serious subjects, and had been much pleased with his dispositions which were no less satisfactory on public occasions. In their Letter to Propaganda, the

\* The Bishop had just spoken of the harbingers of age. Mr. J. Sharp's coming was the harbinger of the end; for it was he who gave the Bishop Extreme Unction at the last. We are unconscious of such coincidences at the time; fortunately no doubt.

Bishops, out of delicacy, had not mentioned the usual allowance of 100 crowns for the expenses of his outfit, but they expected that Mr. Thomson would take care to mention it to the Cardinal as a matter of course. Mr. Thomson, in his last Letter to his Friend, had alluded to his intention of leaving money to the Mission, and of making some arrangements for the advantage of his Successors in the Roman Agency. The Bishop approved of all that had been proposed, but hoped that he should never live to see Mr. Thomson's Successor. "May our good Lord restore you to perfect health, and preserve you long in life, to be an instrument in His Hand to promote His glory, and the good of your poor Country. This, with my daily Commemoration of my much-esteemed Friend in my Memento, is all at present I have to say, and always am yours most affectionately, Dauley."

A formal Commission was prepared for Bishop Geddes, at Gibston, dated August 12th, in the names of the Scottish Bishops, and with the approbation of the Catholic Gentry of Scotland, deputing him as their Procurator in all that regarded the Scotch College, Paris, and the whole Property of the Scottish Mission in France; empowering him to treat with the National Assembly, with the Prior of the Carthusians at Paris, and with all others whom he should find it necessary to consult, in reference to the said College, and the said Mission; authorising him to receive all the effects, papers, money, houses, and lands, &c., in France, belonging to the College or the Mission; and to determine for the best as regarded the future Government of the said College. This Commission further gave the Bishop similar powers in the affairs of the National College at Douay, and concluded by giving him authority to sell the houses, lands, and effects of both Colleges, and of the Mission, and to transfer their Value elsewhere, if he should find it necessary, with the consent of the National Assembly, and provided that in a case of doubt or importance, he should consult the Bishops and two of the Administrators in Scotland. This Document was made out in French, and was transcribed by Bishop Macdonald. Besides the Signatures of the two Vicars-Apostolic, and of five Administrators, namely, Messrs John Reid, William Guthrie, Charles Maxwell, John Chisholm, and Paul

Macpherson, it has appended to it the autograph signatures of twenty-four of the principal Catholic Gentry in Scotland at that day.\*

De Nouant, Prior of the Chartreuse, Paris, highly approved of Bishop Geddes' going in person to France, or sending a man of prudence and of standing, armed with all necessary powers to act in the name of the Mission. In the state of uncertainty in which his own House and Community were still kept, he was unable to do much for the Scotch College, nor in case of a dispute would the Government support him as formerly, but he promised to second the efforts of Bishop Geddes, for the Bishop's Deputy, to the utmost of his ability.—[To B. Geddes, Aug. 21.]

When the Meeting broke up, Bishop Geddes travelled to Aberdeen in company with Bishop Macdonald. On Sunday, after Mass, he went out to Pitfodels with Mr. Menzies and his lady. The Fly to Edinburgh being full, he set out on foot, the following Tuesday, visiting the Privy Seal at Belmont Castle, on his way to Perth. From Perth, he travelled to Edinburgh by the Fly. He found Mr. Robertson quite recovered; Mr. Menzies was still much distressed.—[To B. Hay, Aug. 22.]

Mr. Charles Maxwell, had meanwhile been making a tour of Buchan, to collect signatures for Bishop Geddes' Commission. By the end of August they had all been obtained, and Bishop Hay only awaited the arrangements of his Coadjutor, before leaving Scalan, and taking up his residence in Edinburgh.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Aug. 29.] He was much discomposed by Mr. Cameron's postponing the Ordination of some of his young men at Valladolid. The Bishop's impulse was, as usual, to write to him peremptorily. "I cannot understand what he means; there is a glaring inconsistency in his conduct; but I am afraid he is not the man I took him for. Mr. Maxwell, and his other intimates are astonished at his behaviour."

\* Sir Alexander Gordon, Letterfourie; Mrs. Isabella Gordon, Glastirum; Mrs. Henrietta Menzies, Conraig; James Farquharson, Inveray; James Maxwell, Kirkcounell; Miss C. Gordon, Auchentoul; Patrick Gordon, Aberlour; James Urquhart, Byth; Chevalier Urquhart, Byth; John Menzies, Pitfodels; J. Leslie, Balquhair; Misses Anne and Eliza Gordon, Auchanasy; George Maxwell, Munches; William Maxwell, Constable, Nithsdale; G. Glendonwyn, Glendonwyn; Robert Brown, Milnhead, &c., &c.—[Original at Preshome.]

Both Bishop Hay and his Coadjutor made Mr. Thomson the depositary of their views and plans, as well as of the passing incidents of local news, which often give life and interest to unreserved Correspondence. It was now Bishop Geddes' turn to send the Roman Agent a Letter filled with pleasant chit chat about everything, and every one.—[Sept. 1.] Regarding his own expedition to Paris, he begged the Agent to interest Autonelli in its success. Mr. Farquharson, Mr. Alexander Innes, and Dr. Nonant, were all disposed to render the Mission every service in their power. But the capacity of mischief possessed by Principal Gordon, filled them all with alarm. The Bishop hoped to get away in about four weeks, unless, indeed, there should be a war with France in the meantime. He had escaped from Edinburgh to a little place called Kevock Miln, for quiet and solitude, and the revision of his accounts. Bishop Hay was expected in a fortnight, John Ingram superintending the Seminary in his absence, through next Winter. By the boys who had lately sailed for Leghorn, Bishop Geddes sent Mr. Thomson a little Pamphlet of his own, *On Duelling*, “the result of three days’ reflection in one of my pedestrian Journeys, soon after Charles Grant, Mr. Colquhoun’s son, had killed an Irish Student in a Duel.” Mrs. Glendonwyn of Parton was dead. She had become a very serious Convert, a month or two before her death. Mrs. Goldie, another Convert, a niece of the Earl of Dumfries, and a widow, with two fine children, a boy of seven, and a girl of eleven years old, had a hard battle with their Tutors, who were trying by process of Law to take the children from her, unless she would promise on Oath to educate them as Protestants. Mrs. Macdonald, Mr. John Reid’s favourite sister Bell, had died in child-bed, in July, very much regretted. Her brother, who happened to be visiting her for the first time, gave her the last Sacraments, and Baptized her child. This was shortly before the Bishops’ Meeting, and poor Mr. Reid was too much overwhelmed with grief, to join the Meeting. Bishop Geddes, however, saw him privately at Mr. Guthrie’s. Chapels at Elgin and Fort-William were projected, and would in all probability be built the following summer. We want only men and money.”

The full title of the Pamphlet to which the

Bishop alludes, is, *Reflections on Duelling, and on the most effectual means of Preventing it.*\* It is anonymous, and is written in a more lively and agreeable style than was usual with the erudite Author; it examines difficulties, discusses objections, and proposes several measures for the extinction of the barbarous custom of Duelling.

Mr. Thomson thought so highly of this little Work, as to suggest that the Author should treat the subject of Suicide in a similar manner.—[To B. Geddes, Dec. 27, 1791.]

Bishop Hay again applied to Mr. Thomson—[Sept. 3]—to procure permission “to do Mr. Chisholm’s affair,” with one or two assistant Bishops, or with two Priests in their place in case of necessity. His solicitude to be provided for every chance turned out to be prophetic. “Cras intrabo tertium supra sexagesimum.”

Bishop Geddes—[Sept. 5]—had suggested a route to his Friend, by which he might pick up a few more signatures to the Commission, on his way from Sealan to Edinburgh. His Friend again pressed him to lose no time in setting out for France, as every day made matters more critical. He, himself, would leave Sealan in the second week of September; going over the hills into Perthshire, and by Stobhall, so as to see as much of Bishop Geddes as possible, before his departure.—[Sep. 7.]

With his habitual fulness of detail, and methodical accuracy, Bishop Hay drew up a Paper, entitled—“Reasons which induced the Bishops and Clergy of the Scots Mission, to depose the R.R. John, Bishop of Morocco, to the National Assembly of France, with full powers to treat with that Body, and all others concerned, with regard to the Scotch Colleges in Paris and Douay, and more especially, the former.”—[Dated Edinburgh, Sep. 29, pp. 4, folio. A closely written Autograph MS.] After detailing the Correspondence and the

\* Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech, by Grant and Molr, Paterson’s Court. 1790. pp. 57, 12mo. In Creech’s *Fugitive Pieces*, p. 306, there is a notice of a duel, signed Veridicus, and dated Edinburgh, May 24, 1790. It mentions that the subject of Duelling had much engaged public attention for some time past, in consequence of the fatal duel between Mr. Macrae and Sir George Ramsay. For which, see Chambers’ *Traditions of Edinburgh*, or Wilson’s *Memorials of Edinburgh*.

Negotiations that had preceded this stage of the business, the Bishop sums up as follows:—

“ September 29, 1791.

“ From a serious attention to all that is above, it appears: 1st. That the Principal, in all he writes to Bishop Geddes, utterly rejects the idea that the Mission has any right or title to take any concern with the College or its effects, and uniformly speaks of the power he had from Meeting 1788, as regarding only the the selling of the Mission's property in the French funds. 2d. That in what passed between him and the Prior, in regard to the College, the Prior allows and acknowledges the right of the Superiors of the Mission, as the natural successors of his power, if annulled, and requires a formal and express consent from the Mission, to the plans the Principal has in view. 3d. That the Principal durst not refuse the Mission's right to the Prior, nor to Mr. Innes, but pretended he had the consent of the Mission to what he was doing. 4th. That the Principal assumes to himself alone the whole Supreme power, to do with the College whatever he pleases, without control or responsibility to any one, whenever the Prior's authority shall be set aside. 5th. That by boasting and threats, he wants to deter the Mission from every suspicion of their having any concern with the College, and from daring to call in question the authority he assumes to himself, or even to inquire into his plans or conduct. 6th. That in consequence of his assumed authority, he has formed, and in part executed, some plan of his own, which, if accomplished, will render him sole master of the College, and all its effects, and put it in his power to do with them whatever he pleases, whilst neither the Catholics of Scotland at large, nor any authority among them, can control him, nor receive any advantage from what was left solely for their benefit, but in such manner, and on such terms as he (the Principal) shall please to prescribe.

“ This, at first sight, seems by far too much to leave in the power of any one man, however great his abilities, or upright his intentions may be; especially as his power is wholly assumed without any colour of title to it. As Principal of the College, he has no more power than he receives from the Prior, as belonging to that office of Principal. The Prior himself is but a Trustee for the Catholic Interest in Scotland, and cannot give the Principal a power which he has not himself. If the Prior cannot alienate the College, nor dispose of it without the consent of the Catholics in Scotland, neither can he give power to do so to the Principal or to any other person. And much less can the Principal do so, by any power he has received from the Prior, as belonging to the office of Principal. For these reasons, the Catholic Interest in Scotland think themselves obliged in duty, both to themselves and to Religion, to assert their own

right, and for this purpose, have constituted B. Geddes, with all the powers they could give him, as their Deputy to the National Assembly, and to the Prior, and to all others concerned, to secure their right, and to have the College and all its effects put into their own hands, if the Prior's power should be annihilated, to be settled and disposed of as they themselves shall judge best for the advantage of Religion in Scotland, according to the views of the original Founders.

“ Since the above Narrative was drawn out, at a meeting of the Bishops and Administrators of the affairs of the Mission, which was held at Gibston on the 27th of July, and ended the 13th of August last, the Prior himself has written a Letter to Bishop Geddes, advising him to go to Paris, with full powers from the Bishops and others concerned, in Scotland, to act in the name of the Missions in the above Business.”

A month had not elapsed since the close of the meeting at Scalan, ere Bishop Macdonald was called away by death.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Oct. 17.] His infirmities had been for some time increasing, but the end seems to have come suddenly. He died at Samlaman, Sept. 9th. All the Clergy and laity of the Western District had so unanimously approved of his choice of a Coadjutor, that there could now be no doubt of Mr. Chisholm's fitness to be his successor. The chief opposition was likely to come from Mr. Chisholm himself. The head of the opposition to Bishop Macdonald's own Election had lately been in Edinburgh, and had expressed to Bishop Hay his sense of the impropriety of his own conduct at that time, and his willingness to make all the reparation he could. Since the Bishop's arrival in Edinburgh, he had been busily engaged with his Coadjutor, arranging their affairs, and balancing their books; Bishop Geddes would probably be at liberty to go, in a few days. Bishop Hay confides to Mr. Thomson his displeasure at Mr. Cameron's withholding his Students from the Mission. The Bishop felt it all the more keenly that, for several years past, seven Stations had been vacant, in the Lowland District; and now Bishop Geddes must resign his place for a time. Even for the Seminary, a Priest could not be spared; it was under the charge of a young man who looked after the studies of the rest, at Edinburgh. Mr. Menzies was in a dying state; Mr. Robertson still in poor health; so that it appeared to Bishop Hay as very likely that he himself would have the charge of both the Con-

gregations during the coming winter, together with the Procuratorship, and whatever else there might chance to be wanted.

Bishop Geddes set out on his journey, Wednesday, October 26. He stopped at Newcastle, and walked out to Stella Hall, to visit Bishop Gibson, Mr. Eyre, and Mr. Silvertop. On Friday he left Newcastle at 10 a.m. in the Mail-Coach for York, accomplishing the journey of eighty miles in rather less than twelve hours. At midnight he again started and reached London between five and six o'clock on Sunday morning. He slept till nine, then heard High Mass at Lincoln's Fields, in the crowd. After that, he returned to his Inn, to rest, dine, concert operations before God, and recommend them to His protection, and to write to Bishop Hay.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Oct. 30.] Next morning he was to wait on Bishop Douglas, in Bedford Square.

The same day that his Coadjutor set out for London, Bishop Hay visited the rising Mission at Glasgow, where he spent a week. On the whole, he expressed himself as very well pleased with its progress; and acknowledged that things had greatly changed in that city within a few years. If a prudent Missionary could be settled there, the Bishop anticipated that much good might be done. The zeal of the poor Catholics to contribute towards the maintenance of a Priest among them, was particularly agreeable to him. He held a meeting of the principal Catholics, and laid before them a plan for raising a Subscription; a Committee of six was appointed to manage the business, and he furnished them with a proper form for Subscription Papers.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 4.] Bishop Geddes' friends at Glasgow sent many compliments to him; among them were Professors Williamson and Anderson. Professor Anderson explained the Microscope to Bishop Hay, who had taken one with him on purpose. The Bishop rejoiced to hear of his Friend's pleasant journey to London, and that the anticipated difficulties about the holidays had been obviated. "Homo proponit, Deus autem disponit. And, indeed, we every day see instances of His watchful and most amiable Providence over His servants on numberless occasions." He adds the melancholy news of Mr. Robert Menzies' death, the Saturday after Bishop Geddes left, and

while Bishop Hay was at Glasgow. "Fiat voluntas Dei!"

A Letter addressed to Mr. John Gordon, "Innerramsay's Close, Aberdeen,"—[Nov. 3. Original in Chapel-house, Aberdeen]—communicates further particulars of the death of this good Missionary, whose loss at the time was almost irreparable. The Letter was written the day after the Bishop's return from Glasgow, and bears internal evidence of considerable haste.

" November 3, 1791.

" Dear Sir,—When your uncle left this, on Wednesday, last week, I was obliged to set off for Glasgow, whence I returned only last night, when I found yours of the 24th October waiting me, and your other of the 1st inst. arrived this day. I shall say no more about the subject of my last, as a half-hour's conversation will do more than several letters. Only, I beg you to be assured that I never had a thought of doing thing [sic] that could reasonably give you any cause of displeasure, and that I never heard the smallest insinuation of any umbrage taken at younger than they being kept in towns, &c. If any had hinted such a thing to me, I could easily have satisfied them; as youthhood or old age are motives which, I think, ought to have very little weight in directing our determinations in such matters; and, if any are of that opinion, I imagine, if they had only one winter's trial of this town, as we are at present, they would not wish for another. So that I assure you, I had no particulars in view, in what I wrote in my last; it was purely the result of what you wrote you wrote [sic] to me, and to put you to rights where I thought you had been under a mistake.

" When I came to this place, I found poor Mr. Menzies in a very bad state of health; with a bad ague which had degenerated into a jaundice, and at last, after the violent symptoms I spoke of, threatened a dropsey. He had one of our best physicians here daily attending him, especially from the time his bad symptoms began to appear; every help was given him the art could afford, but still he grew weaker and weaker. When I left this, last week, to go to Glasgow, I had little hopes ever to see him again, which was actually the case; he died upon Saturday last, after having received all the Helps of the Church, in a very edifying manner, and was buried on Tuesday last, the day before I could get to town. The loss of him will be severely felt in this place, as I have not one whom I can put in his place, and who has the language of his numerous congregation, without leaving an equal blank elsewhere, which, in our present circumstances I cannot think of doing. May Almighty God direct and assist us what to do? Be so good as inform our Friends on Deeside and Braemar. I am writing this night to Huntly

whence those to the northward will get notice. I am glad I did not use Betty Proctor's medicine, especially as you write me she never had used it in the circumstances I mentioned in my last. But I am not the less obliged to her; and with my kind thanks please assure her that I shall carefully keep the secret."

After a Paragraph on business, and sundry money matters—

"We have just such a plan for the Poor's House here as you mention to be in agitation with you; but here, our people who are taken in are no wise molested as to their Religion, and allowed to go to the Chappel when they please, and we have free access to them in sickness. As the town of Aberdeen has always been favourable to us in this respect, I hope they will be no less so in the present case; and if so, I much approve that what you mention, of some poor's money be applied that way, especially as you are much better provided for that purpose than any other Station I know; besides, I think it will be a real advantage in the main.

"Remember me kindly to all friends, and I ever am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately in Dno.

P.S.—Pray for me and Mr. Robison, that our good Lord may enable us to go through what He has laid upon us this winter. I wish you to write to your namesake at Valladolid, and see to get out of him what they are about. Both Mr. Geddes and I have written strongly to Mr. Cameron, but no answer, though your uncle might have got one before now."

When Mr. Menzies' affairs were examined, it was found that he had left nothing but his Watch. The debts which he had incurred in repairing St. Andrew's Chapel, together with his Funeral expenses, amounted to £100, which fell on Bishop Hay to pay.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 15.] At a general Meeting of St. Andrew's Congregation, it was resolved to put its affairs on the same footing as St. Margaret's.—[Same to same, Nov. 22.]

Bishop Geddes became the guest of his Friend, Bishop Douglas, during his stay in London. He also met with especial kindness from Mr. George Chalmers, the accomplished Antiquary, and Author of *Caledonia*, whom the Bishop describes as an excellent man, more really so than I could have well expected, or you could readily believe.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 11.] He made the Antiquary a present of a valuable Print of Queen Mary. The Bishop also found that the principal Agent in passing the Catholic Relief

Bill, had been Lord Loughborough. Mr. Stewart, another new Friend, took the Bishop to dine with the Judge, by invitation. Bishop Geddes took an opportunity to express the gratitude of the Catholic Body to his Lordship. The compliment was well received, and he was invited to return to dinner, next day, and to bring Bishop Douglas with him. They passed a very agreeable evening with Lord and Lady Loughborough alone. Bishop Geddes took care to express a hope that something might, ere long, be done for the Scottish Catholics also. Bishop Hay's Friend, Mrs. Heneage, was living on her Estate in the Isle of Wight, where she was founding a new Mission. The King was desirous to purchase the King James' Papers, preserved in the Scotch College in Paris; Mr. Stuart took a great interest in the negotiations, and persuaded the Bishop to defer his departure to France till they were completed. Mr. Chalmers undertook to bring them under the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, and other Trustees of the British Museum. On the 15th Nov. the Bishop was to resume his journey by Coach to Dover. Rumours of a counter Revolution were afloat. But he did not see that fear of disturbances ought to deter him from going, to fulfil his desire of doing all the good in his power with God's blessing.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 14.] He concludes thus, "May our good God support you in health and strength of mind and body, when you have so much to do, so much to undergo." Bishop Hay wished his Friend, in return, all health and happiness, and the Blessing of God on his affairs. His own health, thank God, stood well. He suggested an application to the "Hilton Duke," about the Stuart Papers.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 15, addressed Rue des Bonnes, Douay.]

As if the ordinary duties that had devolved on Bishop Hay during his Coadjutor's absence were not enough to engage all his time and energy, we find a new and extraneous source of annoyance and anxiety to him in the colony of Portuguese youths which Bishop Geddes had superintended. On his departure, Bishop Hay deputed Mr. Robertson to the duty, and soon the mutinous spirit of the youths broke through all bounds; they shewed themselves utterly reckless of expense, and some of them turned out scandalously immoral. All of them, but one,

behaved badly, exhibiting at once their perverse self-will, and their ignorance of every gentlemanly principle of conduct. The whole Establishment had been a mistake from the first. From the terms of Mr. Fryer's first proposal in regard to it, Bishop Geddes had been induced to think that the young men were of good, perhaps of decayed Family, and that they were sent and maintained at the expense of the Portuguese exchequer. The fact that the Queen was represented as taking an interest in the colony, naturally increased Bishop Geddes' desire to make an exertion in its behalf. Advantage was taken of his good-nature, and without any specific arrangement as to details the most important, he was at once appointed to the charge of the colony with a fixed salary, and a remittance to begin the work, to hire a house and servants, and to purchase furniture. When the young men arrived, he, still under an erroneous impression of their former circumstances, made a suitable provision for their maintenance, frugal indeed, but as he thought, in accordance with what they had been accustomed to. A serious error had been committed in the choice of a Master to teach them English. Fernandez, a Native of Madeira, the only Master of Portuguese in Edinburgh, turned out the bane of the whole scheme. He filled the heads of the young men with foolish notions of their rank and quality, making them dissatisfied with Bishop Geddes' provision for their board and their clothes. The Bishop did all he could to content them, in his own gentle way, and even yielded to them in some small matters. They, perceiving his good-nature, took advantage of it, to importune and harass him beyond the endurance of any other man. When he happened to be absent from Edinburgh, they tyrannised over the Housekeeper, and forced her to provide them with whatever they chose to call for; and even from the Bishop himself, they demanded every indulgence which they saw any of their fellow-students enjoying. The Bishop wrote to Lisbon for instructions; and his surprise was great to learn, early in 1791, that the young men were persons of the humblest origin, that they had been taken from the "practicantes" in Hospitals and other places; and that they were maintained on a limited Charity-Fund; in short, that the young men were of poor condition, reared on

Charity at home, and supported on Charity abroad.

Bishop Geddes, at last, wearied and harassed to death with their caprices, again applied for minute instructions, and told them what he done. His Letter was unfortunately lost. After waiting the usual time for an answer, they renewed their extravagant demands, encouraged by what they deemed the silent connivance of their Court. Nothing but the finest and the most expensive clothing would serve them; nothing but the very best food would satisfy them. While Bishop Geddes was absent in the North, in July and August, 1791, their extravagance surpassed all reasonable bounds in board and clothing. They then beset the amiable Bishop for allowance of pocket-money. With the greatest reluctance, and still left in the dark by the Portuguese Court as to the exact expenses of the Establishment, he complied, first by giving them a small sum, and at last allowing each of them a guinea in the month. Their outlay for books in one year exceeded £100.

In this state of matters, Bishop Hay found the Colony, on his arrival in Edinburgh, in Sept., 1791. During the short time that he spent with his Coadjutor, he was annoyed and distressed to see the miserable condition to which the amiable man was reduced by the insubordination of those young fellows. Not a day, hardly an hour, but one or other of them was harassing him with some demand. Bishop Hay frankly told his Friend that with this refractory Colony, he would positively have nothing to do, during the ensuing winter. The claims of the Mission on his time and strength, would absolutely forbid him to think of such a thing. His Friend, however, so far won upon him, as to obtain his consent to superintend the Colony in a general way, provided a fixed plan of expense should be determined on, until the Portuguese Intendant could be consulted. The housekeeper's accounts for bread, washing, coal and candle, were to be submitted to Bishop Hay. Each of the young men was to be allowed £4 a month, for clothes, books, and pocket-money; the Bishop paying the College fees and other dues. Tradesmen were warned to supply them only for ready money, or if otherwise, it must be at the tradesman's own risk.

The Establishment in Chessell's buildings con-

sisted of a housekeeper and her husband, a cook, a housemaid, and a boy who ran messages, and cleaned the boots and shoes. The housekeeper superintended the other servants; her husband went to market, provided necessaries, and kept the accounts. He and his wife were Converts, steady and conscientious people. Notwithstanding the immense trouble and vexation that the young men had given them, they discharged their duty all along with uprightness and candour. The young men treated the housekeeper very ill; they abused her without mercy when anything displeased them; and on one memorable occasion, the Eve of St. Andrew's Day, 1791, they addressed an unsigned Note to Bishop Hay, complaining of their Fast-day dinner as insufficient and bad. On inquiry, it turned out that, though the stormy weather had made fresh fish impossible, they had been supplied with eight dishes of Abstinence food, such as salt fish, eggs, lobster, salad, vegetables, &c.

The following Communication made at this time—[Dec. 17]—by Bishop Hay to Mr. Fryer, at Lisbon, besides the account it gives of the state of Mission affairs in Scotland, derives an especial interest from the testimony to the charming disposition of his Friend and Coadjutor, which it incidentally bears:—

December 17. 1791.

Sir,—According to promise in my last of the 10th, I write you this, and, as I foresee it will run out to a considerable length, without further preamble I shall enter on my subject, after a short but necessary account of the situation of this Vicariate, which Divine Providence has put under my charge. We have been for many years, and particularly at present are, in the greatest distress for the want of Hands. I have at present no less than eight vacant Stations, some of which are very numerous, very extended, and very important. By this means we have often the great affliction to hear of poor souls dying without the Sacraments, the children neglected for want of instruction, and not unfrequently the people apostatizing for the same reason, and the neighbouring Missionaries harassed and exhausted with frequent and distant calls. Three years ago, the gentleman who had the care of a little Seminary I have for preparing boys for being sent abroad, happening to die, I had not another to put in his place, and was obliged to take that charge upon myself, otherwise I must have shut up its doors. And to this day, I have not been able to get one, so that on my coming to this place, I was forced to leave it to the care of servants, with the

oldest among the boys to teach the younger ones their lessons. In this city we have two Chapels, both having pretty numerous Congregations, and only one Clergyman to each. Bishop Geddes was obliged to assist the most important of the two, and last winter, from the illness of both Clergymen, had, for a considerable time, both Congregations, and for a still longer time, had one of them entirely upon his hands. Although this City be his principal residence, yet he is obliged to be out of it for weeks and often for months together several times in the year. He has to visit, from time to time, our Missions in Galloway, Perthshire, and Angusshire, which I had allotted to him, having kept those in the North for my own inspection. He had the management of all the temporal affairs of the Mission, and endless correspondences, both at home and abroad, relating to these affairs. He had, in fine, frequently to go to Glasgow, to visit a numerous Congregation there, who had no other help than from him, and sometimes, from another who lives at a much greater distance from them. Such, Sir, is at present, and has been for some time past, our distressed situation, and to complete our distress, since Bishop Geddes left this, one of the two Churchmen here is dead, which throws one of the two Chapels almost entirely upon me. For the above reasons, when Bishop Geddes wrote me about the proposal of the Portuguese Settlement here, I own sincerely that I was entirely averse to his having any concern in it, fully convinced that it was not in his power to give the necessary attention to it, without neglecting his own duties, or that in discharging them, which I was persuaded he would not omit to do, the other would, of necessity be mismanaged. But Bishop Geddes is of such a disposition that he cannot refuse his consent to anything asked of him, where he thinks the glory of God is concerned, especially by a person for whom he has so great an esteem and affection, as I know he has for you. He has, certainly a most amiable temper, disinterested, obliging, and condescending, and so cordially sympathising that I know it is a torment to him to do or say anything harsh or severe, to any mortal. This, his natural disposition, has been greatly confirmed from the example of the amiable St. Francis of Sales, whom he considers as his great model, and from the wonderful success he has had in many difficult cases by the gentle and engaging manner he treated those engaged in them. And it must be owned that this, his turn of mind, has gained him the love, esteem and regard of every one, wherever he has been, and of people of all ranks and stations, who have been acquainted with him. From this his disposition it was that the indecisive answer flowed which he made to your proposal, *that he should do what he could*, and I am afraid this answer was sent off before my opinion of the matter had reached him. I insist so fully on

this, because I consider it as the mainspring on his part of all that followed, especially as he repeatedly declared to you that nothing effectually could be done, unless some one from that country should be sent to be with them always, and have full authority over them, which was absolutely refused. . . . You will probably be expecting something about the morals of these young men. But I must be allowed to draw a veil over that scene. The above relation gives little reason to expect anything comforting on that head, and I am sorry to say, that by all I have seen and heard, the expectation is but too well grounded. Their attachment to the unhappy Fernandez, who was found at last to be a man without principle or conscience, and which no effort of Mr. Geddes and Mr. Robison the other Clergyman could break, is looked upon by everybody here as the original source of corruption, though everything of that kind was kept a dead secret from Mr. Geddes and Mr. Robison, till the evil proved beyond remedy. Bishop Geddes had, indeed, forbid him the house, and them from going to him, but this last could not be prevented. I even have doubts if Faith itself be sound in some of them, and from a conversation I lately had with them all together about the new plan, I have reason to think that some of them at least are much inclined to favour the present system of French Politics. But at all this I am not much surprised. I was born and educated in this city, and had applied to the study of Medicine in my younger days, before I had any knowledge of the Catholic Faith. I know what this place was at that time with regard to morals, and I am persuaded, by all accounts I can get, that it is beyond any comparison worse at present, especially in the Medical line; in so much so, that it is my decided opinion that it is next to a miracle if a young man, left in any degree to his own management in this vicious Sodom, and applying to the study of Medicine, can ever be able to escape the contagion. . . .

The Intendant gave his full sanction to the plan of retrenchment. Pocket-money was to be altogether withheld; and the consumption of coal and candle much restricted. The Foreigner insisted on the use of force in sending the refractory back to Portugal. But the Bishop was fully aware that in a Free Country such an act would be illegal, without the intervention of a Magistrate. He anticipated with some anxiety the effects of the mortification which would be inflicted on the young men by this new restriction on their enjoyments. After a full consultation with Mr. Robertson, he copied out the Regulations received from Portugal, and calling the youths together, he read them over in

their presence. Their indignation was great. The Bishop advised them calmly to consider the whole matter, and tell him their final determination. They sent him a Note next morning, demanding to see the Intendant's Letter. The Bishop refused it, as an insult to himself and the Intendant. The same evening they all went to him in a body, and asked him if he was determined to follow the Regulations proposed. He told them he must, as his instructions were peremptory. After some altercation, six out of the seven declared they would neither submit to it, nor go home by sea at that season. They demanded money sufficient for their voyage; with it they would go by land to London, and thence to Lisbon, the best way they could. The Bishop took time to consider of it. Meanwhile, they consulted their Professors, applied for Certificates of attendance, and of good conduct. The Professors suspected all was not right; one of them waited on the Bishop, who satisfied him as to the merits of the case. One young man alone, among them all, named Castro, was an exception to the rest. By his politeness and his good behaviour, he proved himself to be of better condition than his companions. He was introduced, in consequence, into some respectable families, who learnt to esteem him as he deserved. His father promised to send him money to finish his studies; and he privately assured Mr. Robertson that he would cheerfully submit to the new Regulations. His behaviour continued so exemplary, that the Bishop made him a present of £4, to enable him to enter as a Member of the Royal Medical Society, as a reward for his good conduct, and as likely to confer great benefit on him, in the prosecution of his studies. As for his companions, the Bishop insisted on an answer against a given day; would they obey the Regulations or not? The threat that he would leave them to themselves for the future, unless they yielded, brought them to their senses, and they all sent in a written submission by Dec. 20.

Bishop Hay, in summing up the whole of this wretched story—[To Mr. Fryer, Dec. 24]—disapproved of the manner in which the Establishment had from the beginning been conducted. Its arrangements had been too precipitate, and on a scale far too great. To give the plan a chance of succeeding, a total change was neces-

sary. The Superior of such a house ought to be a Physician, a man of probity and honour, who should reside constantly on the spot, and whom the young men should be compelled to obey. He should also be able to speak their language. The Students ought to be of decent parentage, so as to have nothing mean or underbred about them. They ought to have made acquaintance with the English Language, otherwise, the first year of their studies would be entirely lost to them; they should also know something of Latin, many of the best Medical Works being written in that language. Their studies and their discipline must be settled by some fixed rule. Amusements of an innocent kind ought to be provided for their recreation; and rewards occasionally bestowed on the well-behaved. Everything, in short, that was wanting in Chessell's buildings was essential to the success of such a scheme. After the 15th of May, 1792, both the Bishop and his Coadjutor must positively withdraw from the concern; at that date, the Lease of the House would expire. The Bishop concluded a very characteristic Letter, by expressing his regret at being precluded from doing more towards the promotion of so charitable a design on the part of her most faithful Majesty. "Candour as well as Christian charity obliges me to represent things as they are; I should have deceived the Intendant if I had done otherwise. I sincerely pray God to direct those concerned to what is most conducive to His glory."

The new plan of retrenchment came into operation, and with the change began a series of conflicts between the Bishop and the young men. They sent him insolent Notes of Complaint, demanding money; his answers were mild but inexorable; the Intendant's instructions presenting an insurmountable obstacle to the demands of the young men. They broke out, at last, into open mutiny, setting the Rules and the servants at defiance. In the very crisis of this new difficulty, a new arrangement was made by the Intendant, which transferred the whole charge of the Establishment to Dr. Nathaniel Spens, and his son, Dr. Thomas; the Bishop's disbursements were refunded, and a balance handed over to the "physicians,"—[B. Hay to Mr. Fryer, January 6, 1792] who met Bishop Hay, and formally took

the whole concern off his hands. So ended this curious little Episode in our History. If its narration has been a digression, it is one which cannot fail to repay the interruption by the additional light which it throws on the character of Bishop Hay, and of his amiable Friend and Coadjutor.

Mr. George Chalmers—[Nov. 25. Dated Office of Trade, Whitehall]—while thanking Bishop Hay for sending the Prints of Queen Mary, took an opportunity of paying a deserved tribute to the merit of Bishop Geddes, in these friendly words; "Alas! would I could have been more useful and more kind to Bishop Geddes, whose extraordinary merit entitles him to every possible attention. I would almost go to Paris myself, which, I think, has now few attractions, to ensure the success of his Mission." Sir Joseph Banks promised at Mr. Chalmers' request, to mention to the King the subject of the Stuart Papers, a matter in which the worthy and the learned were all concerned. "Whenever I can facilitate your views, you may command my services."

On the day fixed, Nov. 15th, Bishop Geddes reached Dover, and was detained there for three days by bad weather. At mid-day on the 18th, he attempted the passage, though it was still stormy; he entered the harbour of Calais early next morning. The same day he took the barge to St. Omers, where he spent Saturday and Sunday in the agreeable company of Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Cleghorn. They had charge of a flourishing House of 123 students. Monday, he went on to Lille; Tuesday forenoon, he was once more at Douay. He found fifteen Scottish Students in good health. They pursued their education under their own Prefect of Studies, and a Professor of Humanities, at home, owing to the disturbed state of the place; but there were fears that they might be forced to attend the public schools; an attempt which must be resisted, as all the old Professors had been expelled for refusing the Constitutional Oath. The Bishop's health was as good as when he was in Edinburgh, or even better. He proposed to remain there for ten or twelve days longer.—[To B. Hay, Nov. 24.]

He was fully aware of the importance of avoiding an open rupture with Principal Gordon; he therefore addressed him in a mild and per-

susive Letter,—[Dec. 2]—earnestly begging him to come into the plans of the Scottish Bishops, and concert matters with them, for the good of his College, and of Religion in general. The style of this Letter is firm, and at the same time, singularly friendly and winning. He goes over their past differences; explaining the nature of the Commission or Procurator, which he had brought with him from Scotland. He further endeavours to shew the Principal how groundless were his pretensions to independence; and how expedient, and even necessary that the Bishops and the Principal should act together. Bishop Hay, on the other hand, continued to urge his Coadjutor to treat with the Principal with becoming firmness, and not show himself too easy in making concessions, as if he feared Mr. Gordon, but rather, relying on the authority of his Commission from Scotland, and on the efficient support which might be expected from London. The Principal would not hold out long, if he were managed with firmness; or if he did, he would probably commit himself to some extravagant plan, which would damage his cause and promote the object of Bishop Geddes' Mission.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Dec. 7.]

Conciliation and firmness were equally thrown away on a man of Mr. Gordon's impracticable character. He rejected Bishop Geddes' advances with arrogance, standing on his independence of the Scottish Bishops. A second Appeal from Bishop Geddes, also addressed to him from Douay—[Dec. 12]—fared no better. The Principal was highly offended at the Commission entrusted to the Bishop, and resented it in a marked way, by giving him to understand that he must not expect to be entertained in the Scotch College at Paris. It was at first arranged that he should lodge in the English Seminary; but ultimately he took up his residence in a private house, No. 5, Rue des Poules, près Rue des Fossez St. Marcel. A Member of the National Assembly lodged in the same house, which was supposed to confer additional security.

Mr. Farquharson accompanied the Bishop as far as Cambray, on the 17th December; three days later the Bishop continued his journey to Paris by himself. There was much ferment and excitement, and Churchmen were in especial danger. Before leaving Cambray, he addressed his Friend at Edinburgh, giving him many de-

tails of his progress.—[Dec. 19.] A sentence or two in this Letter reveals new difficulties arising from Bishop Geddes' imperfect accuracy in keeping his books. . . . “However kindly and friendly you behaved to me, at my departure, which I can never forget; yet, I have often since reflected how so much money had slipped away from me, when I was conscious of not having spent much on myself. I allowed a good deal to Company—[the Mission]—for its interest on rising fund, supposed to be in Bunker's hands, when I was obliged to advance the capital to pay Quotas. I otherwise gave a good deal to the public, because I thought I was able to do it, which I was not. I hope to satisfy myself and you, on this, one day, from my books, which I locked up, at my coming away, because there was not time then to examine them sufficiently.”

Bishop Geddes' first act on his arrival in Paris, December 23, was to communicate with the Prior of the Carthusians, in a friendly way, stating the nature of his errand, and the dispute with the Principal as to the interference of the Scottish Bishops, and requesting the Prior to see that justice was done to the interests of Religion in Scotland. The Prior was a good man, but weak and undecided; he depended for his opinion on such matters on an Irishman, a Canon of Charteris, who, fortunately, espoused the Cause of the Scottish Bishops, and carried the Prior along with him. The Bishop had his first interview with the Principal, December 27th. It was more friendly than his Correspondence. He invited Bishop Geddes twice to dinner, and by the Prior's express orders, offered him rooms in the College; but this offer, made in such circumstances, the Bishop thought proper to decline. Mr. Gordon also agreed to discuss the whole business in a friendly manner, in presence of the Prior and De Nouant. If they could not come to an agreement, then the Abbé de Floirac, Vicar-General of Paris, who then governed the Diocese, and the Abbé de Rigaud, Visitor of the Carmelite Nuns, were to be requested to arbitrate on the conflicting claims. Bishop Geddes prepared a summary of his proposals on behalf of the Scottish Bishops, which, in brief, amounted to this; that the Founder's Will, and the Constitution of the College, should be inspected; that the property of the College should not be sold,

or its value removed elsewhere, without the consent and approval of the Scottish Bishops; that in the event of the Prior's ceasing to be Superior of the Scotch College, the Election of the Principal, and of the Procurator of the College should, for the future, vest in the Scottish Bishops, together with the right of nominating students; and that a Deputy of the Bishops should visit the College once in the year, and inspect the Procurator's accounts.

To this year must be assigned the publication of a small Collection of Spiritual Songs,\* under the implied sanction of Bishop Hay. The little Book contains forty-one Songs on Moral, Devotional, and Controversial Subjects; each Song being adapted to a popular Scottish Air. We have the authority of the late Abbé Macpherson for saying that the greater part of these Songs were the composition of Father Gordon, or Johnson S.J., the Provincial of Scotland, at the suppression of the Society.—[MS. Continuation of History of Mission; *sub anno* 1780.] He died in 1780. Bishop Hay also contributed some of them, as did Bishop Geddes and others. The only one now certainly known as Bishop Hay's, is Song xvii., "On the origin of Rants," set to the Tune of *Killiecrankie*. The object of this Song was to expose the sinfulness and the danger of young men and women meeting at the Country Dances, popularly called Rants. The character of all the Songs is rugged and inartificial; and suited to "the genius of the times."

The Collection is now extremely rare. The Author has seen only one Copy, in the possession of an old Pauper at Upper Clochan, close to Preshome; and he refused to part with it. The Songs appeared in a new and more refined form at Aberdeen, in 1802, published by J. Chalmers & Co., and entitled, "A Collection of Spiritual Songs, on various Religious subjects. Colossians iii. 16." Copies of this little Work are common enough. Bishop Geddes' numerous contributions to it are signed with his Initials,

J. E. M. (Joannes Episc. Marochensis.) An impartial Critic is bound to say that the whole Collection, from beginning to end, is a fasciculus of pious Doggerel, destitute of the very slightest tincture of Poetry.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1792—1793.

Consecration of B. Chishohn—B. Geddes returns to Edinburgh, and B. Hay to Sealand—Principal Gordon abandons the Scotch College at Paris—Chapel at Glasgow opened—Death of Scotch Agent at Rome—His *History of the Scottish Mission*—B. Geddes' health declines—B. Hay's Pastoral on Political Duties—Mr. Macpherson to go to Rome as Agent—Scotch Catholic Relief Bill passed.

In his Negotiations at Paris, Bishop Geddes was much assisted by the countenance of the British Ambassador, Lord Gower, to whom, and to his Lady, the Countess of Sutherland, he had Letters of Introduction, and who showed him great civility. Through the recommendation, also, of Cardinal Zalada, the Roman Secretary of State, the Bishop found a willing and useful assistant in the Abbé Salomon, the Papal Chargé d' Affaires. But he derived more effectual assistance from the cordial co-operation of Mgr. Colbort, Bishop of Rhodez, than from any other source. This Prelate was connected with Scotland by Family ties, and had become familiar with the Scotch College in Paris, during a residence of three years in it. Notwithstanding obstacles and delays interposed by Mr. Gordon, the Conference took place at last before the Arbiters. The Deed of Foundation and other original Documents were produced and read, and the Arbiters gave a unanimous decision against the claims of the Principal to independent jurisdiction in the College.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 29.] Their decision not having the final authority of a judicial sentence, the Principal was little inclined to yield. He addressed the Bishop of Rhodez in a long Letter, endeavouring to establish the independent position of the College and of himself. The Bishop was at great pains to refute his conclusions in a reply, extending to eleven pages. Mr. Gordon, still deaf to reason, trusted to the unwillingness of his opponents to drag him into the Courts of Law, in the disorganized state of

\* "A Collection of Spiritual Songs. The following Songs, written at different periods, during this and the last two Centuries, being now in few hands, and having suffered much from the carelessness of transcribers, it was thought proper to publish them in this corrected form, for preservation, as a specimen of the genius of the times. 1791." No place of publication, or name of Publisher.

French Society at the time. As long, indeed, as the Prior of the Carthusians remained, the College was safe, for he had undertaken to do nothing of importance in regard to it, without the consent of the Bishop of Rhôde, and the approval of the Scottish Bishops. The College had influential friends on the spot, in the Bishop of Rhôde and the three Abbés who had acted as Arbiters at the Conference, and they would keep the Scottish Bishops informed of all that happened. So far something had been gained by Bishop Geddes' Mission. But the Prior's own tenure of life was very uncertain, and if he were removed, or if the Principal could regain his influence over him, all might be lost. The Prior had indeed consented to name a Procurator; but his interest in the whole matter was so slender, that he slept during a good part of the Conference. Had he acted with more vigour, more would probably have been gained. Bishop Geddes also set some value on the opportunity which had been afforded him of seeing and copying the original Deed of Foundation. In a moment of politeness one evening, the Principal had permitted him to take it to his Lodgings. Next morning, Mr. Gordon, repenting of his accidental courtesy, called to get the Deed back again; but the Bishop had copied it overnight. From an inspection of two years' accounts, he discovered that the income of the College amounted to 200 French Livres, clear of debt. Besides the Principal, there were then only a Prefect of Studies and two Students. It was out of the question to attempt more than the Bishop had gained in the unsettled state of affairs, and on the eve of a threatened War with England. He therefore began to prepare for his return home. His Correspondence furnishes few details of the state of the Revolution. He testifies, however, that, amidst the distress which the deplorable condition of the Church in France gave him, he had derived great consolation from "many examples of constancy in the Faith, of Patience, of Piety, and of every Christian Virtue."—[To Cardinal Antonelli, April 30.]

Bishop Hay, meanwhile, kept his Coadjutor informed of all that was going on at home. He had been much engaged in preparing Davidson and Reid, two of their Students from Valladolid, "for the third step, which they got last Sun-

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day morning."—[To B. Geddes, Jan. 17.] Bishop Chisholm was soon expected in Edinburgh for his Consecration. Bishop Hay's own health stood out wonderfully well. "We all join, as you may well believe, in hearty wishes and earnest prayers, for the success of your endeavours. So, begging a daily share in your Memento, I remain, with all wonted regard and affection," &c. The same day, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Thomson, who had been ailing. He discussed at large, the proposed sale of the Stuart Papers to the British Nation, of which he heartily approved for the benefit of the Mission. He prescribed a large blister on the chest for his Friend's ailments. "Remember our mutual promise at parting. I never omit my part. God bless you, and grant you good health, and many happy returns of the late Holy Season. Yours most affectionately in Dno."

When his Coadjutor crossed the Border, Bishop Hay again became the sole Bishop in Scotland. It therefore fell to his duty to Consecrate Bishop Chisholm to the Titular See of Oria, and the Apostolic Vicariate in the Highlands. The Rite was performed, Sunday, February 12th, with the assistance of two Priests, by special Dispensation. Propaganda, impoverished by the French Revolution, refused the usual allowance for "Utensils;" a great hardship to the new Prelate. We note the course of time when we observe that he is the first Bishop mentioned in this History who survived Bishop Hay. At the suppression of the Jesuits, Mr. Chisholm exchanged the Noviciate at Tournay for the Seminary at Douay, where he was Ordained Priest in 1777. Since that time he had laboured with success in his native District of Strathglass. He sustained the dignity of the Mitre for upwards of twenty years.

The value of Mr. Robert Menzies' unostentatious services began to be felt when death had put a period to them. Many of the poor Highlanders were lost, for want of a Priest who could speak the Gaelic tongue. It was next to impossible to secure such a one for the Lowland District. It seems that the death of this excellent Missionary had been hastened by pecuniary anxieties. He had taken as a boarder, an Irish Student of Medicine, at the desire of the lad's father. Unfortunately, the father would never

pay a farthing. The additional expense thus incurred, together with Mr. Menzies' liabilities for St. Andrew's Chapel, preyed upon his mind, and induced ague and jaundice, of which he died.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Feb. 13.] Mr. Davidson, one of the young Priests lately Ordained, entered the same day, on the Buchan Mission; and his companion, Mr. Reid, succeeded Mr. Paul Macpherson at Stobhall, who had now come to Edinburgh, to relieve Bishop Hay of the Procuratorship. Their "Ex-Friends" by the recent death of Mr. Alexander Duguid, were now reduced to three, and their "Hilton Seculi" now went to the Mission. Bishop Hay also communicated a few interesting details regarding the rising Mission at Glasgow.

"February 13, 1792.

.... "Accounts have been received from our last Summer's emigrants. They went to Nova Scotia, were kindly relieved, got a year's provisions and so much land from Government for each family. This encouragement has set others upon following them, and we hear that subscriptions are going on for a new emigration, this year. There are many, however, of the poorer sort, who, not being able to pay their passage, are left at home in great misery. Would you imagine it! A door is likely to open for them at Glasgow. Manufacturers there are advancing to such a degree, that they cannot get hands to supply. Children of 7 years of age may make half-a-crown, or three shillings per week, and others more in proportion. Application has been made to us to supply them from the Highlands; our only objection was the want of the exercise of their Religion. This they easily saw into; and are actuallyconcerting at present to obviate that difficulty, by providing a Chapel, and have begun subscriptions among themselves to execute their plan, and provide for a Churchman. *Quam mirabilia sunt opera tua Domine!* If this takes place, and the emigrations continue for a few years, we shall have very few of our people either in the great estates, of Clanranald or Glengary. *Dominus novit opus suum ab Eterno. Fiat voluntas ejus!*"

To his Coadjutor, Bishop Hay communicated the welcome news of the thriving condition of the Bank of Scotland.—[Feb. 21.] He had recently attended a general Meeting of the Proprietors, at which a plan for doubling their capital was unanimously approved, and the Bill sent up to Mr. Dundas, the Governor. "Last night, Bishop Chisholm, Mr. Robertson, and I supped (for the first time) with Lord Monboddo; he was very happy to hear you are well, and

desired to be kindly remembered to you." Bishop Hay's own health was very good, with the exception of a two months' cold, which still hung about him, though it was then going off. Last Winter, however, at Sealan, with all its severity, he had not had even a touch of cold. In his own name, and in Bishop Chisholm's, he begged his Coadjutor cordially to thank the Prior for his steady adherence to the cause of Religion, and of the Mission, in the late Negotiations in Paris. The Bishop concludes by wishing his Friend a happy and a holy Lent, and many such returns.

The Letters of Bishop Geddes are expressive of constant interest in his absent friends. "Were I to mention all at Edinburgh for whom I have a sincere regard, the list would be pretty long.—[To B. Hay, Feb. 13.] His health had improved since his coming to France. The anarchy in that miserable Country increasing every day, and everything that he could have hoped to gain by his Mission having been secured, he left Paris for Douay, April 20. Thence he sent the Cardinal of Propaganda a detailed account of all that he had been doing at Paris. In the slow course of Post in those days, he received an answer from Antonelli, approving of every step, and complimenting him on his success.—[July 21.] We find the Bishop still at Douay, April 30th, and proposing to remain eight days longer; thence to travel by Bruges to St. Omers, where they wished him to Ordain Students in the English Seminary, as the neighbouring Bishops were all absent.—[To Mr. Thomson, April 30.] Bishop Geddes, however, had an impression that Titular Bishops like himself, *in partibus infidelium*, were prohibited from exercising their Pontifical functions beyond their own limits, even with the consent of the Ordinary; an impression which Mr. Thomson subsequently confirmed by quoting the Brief that forbids it, and by sending a Copy of it to Bishop Geddes. War had, by this time, fairly begun by France and Austria. The day before the date of the Bishop's Letter, 10,000 men had marched from Lille to surprise Tournay, but the Austrians had repulsed them with great loss. The Bishop's last Letter from Douay—[To B. Hay, May 3]—concludes with "kindest compliments to . . . and all other friends at Edinburgh, where I long to be; and I shall not

tarry a day longer than the common good requires. . . . I know you do not forget me in your good Prayers."

Bishop Hay, with his instinctive habit of turning every opportunity to account, proposed that his Coadjutor, on his way home, through England, should recommend to their Friends there, a Scheme for a new Chapel in Edinburgh which some of the Congregation were still urging.—[To B. Geddes, April 23.] "Who knows where a Blessing may alight?" This new Chapel must be a substitute for St. Margaret's Chapel only. St. Andrew's on the East side of Blackfriars' Wynd, must be kept for the Highland Congregation, and be served only in the Gaelic language.

As the month of May advanced, Bishop Hay became anxious that his Coadjutor should return in time to let him away to Aberdeen, for the 20th of June, the Term-day.—[To B. Geddes, London, May 23.] All Bishop Geddes' friends were longing for his return; among others, Professor Anderson of Glasgow, who would come to Edinburgh on purpose to see him. Six of the principal people at Glasgow, had given Bishop Chisholm a Bond to pay Mr. Alexander Maedonell £30 a-year; together with a free house and all that was necessary for the Chapel. The people were in high spirits at getting a Priest of their own; and the gentlemen who had patronised the arrangement were much pleased with Mr. Maedonell, who had, till then, laboured in the District of Badenoch, and at Fort William. In consequence of this arrangement, no fewer than twenty-four Highland families, including 131 souls, had lately arrived at Glasgow in one day, and numbers were preparing to follow them. Bishop Hay was most desirous that his Colleague in the Western District, should spare a Gaelic-speaking Priest for Edinburgh. In the meantime, Mr. A. Macdonald had been transferred from Drummond, to St. Andrew's Chapel. "This day fortnight, in coming down from the Chapel after Prayers, I got a fall in the stair, just such another as I got some years ago at Aberlour, but on the opposite side, and which has had much the same effect; however, it seems to be turning better."\*

\* Bishop Hay had another dangerous fall, a few years later at Auchorties. One evening, after Night Prayers,

May 24th, Bishop Geddes announced his arrival in London, the night before, in good health, by way of Bruges, Dunkirk, and St. Omers. He must remain all the following week to see several persons, and to prepare a Chinese Grammar for presentation to Mr. Dundas. In a few days he reported it as finished, together with a Preface. Before it was presented, Sir George Staunton, Secretary to the intended Embassy to Pekin, happening to call, in company with two Missionaries from the Chinese College at Naples, expressed his regret that there was no Grammar of the Chinese language. Bishop Geddes shewed him his, which he took with him, and promised to present it to Mr. Dundas.—[To B. Hay, May 31.] The Bishop had great hopes of spending the Feast of St. Margaret in the society of his friends at Edinburgh. He proposed to travel by York, Brough Castle, Ellingham and Berwick. The disputes among the English Catholics were gradually dying out.

A Letter from Bishop Hay found him in London, expressing joy at his return, and suggesting that, when he waited on Mr. Dundas, he should inform the Minister of the state of affairs at Glasgow. During the Bishop's recent visit there, some of the principal Manufacturers had told him that they would willingly make a Subscription to build a Chapel for his people, but that the existence of the Penal Laws might give ill-disposed persons an opportunity of accusing them of infringing the Law. A similar difficulty had been made in Edinburgh, against the proposal to erect a new Chapel, by a gentleman on whose opinion the Bishop had much confidence. But for the dormant Penal Laws several Protestants were disposed to encourage the new Chapel.—[To B. Geddes, May 28.] He hoped soon to see his Friend. Two or three forenoons would suffice for their necessary business together, if they shut themselves up in the house on the opposite side. He was initiating Mr. Maepherson in the business of the Procuratorship. With a view to simplify matters for him, the Bishop wished to introduce a less intricate method into Mr. Thomson's Roman accounts. His suggestions on this point afford

he fell backwards down the steep and narrow little staircase connecting the gallery with the floor of the Chapel. On this occasion he sustained no injury.

a good example of the Bishop's clear view of business:—

“Edinburgh, 19th May, 1792.

.... “I must now propose to you an alteration in the time of sending home your yearly accounts to Procurator. It will, I presume, make no odds to you, but will be a very essential convenience to Procurator here. I shall, however, first lay before you the inconveniency of the present method. In Peter Grant's time, who commonly sent home in his several remittances, an account of the particulars to whom each sum belonged, it made no odds when he sent home his accounts, and if I remember, he seldom or never sent any stated account. The several remittances showed what was come, and to whom, and were immediately stated to their respective Proprietors, according to the different rates at which each sum was sent; and as sometimes one, sometimes another had the advantage of the rate, it was, on the whole, of little consequence. The method taken of late, of giving each their proportion, according to the average rate of the whole year, is more exactly equitable, but it is attended with some inconveniences. 1st. It obliges Procurator here to a good deal more computation, more, indeed, than one would think; and 2d. He can never clear accounts with particulars, till long after he gets their money, because he knows not the rate at which to pay them, till your accounts come home. The first year this method was adopted, Dauley was kept near a whole year out of his money: what you received there in June and might have been paid him in Autumn, was not paid him till Summer following, because Mr. Maroch did not know till then, how much he had to give him: and this last Summer, when the same thing was likely to happen, having need of his moneys, on settling accounts with Mr. Maroch, Dauley was obliged to take it at the high exchange then current, which he found afterwards to be no small loss to him, when the average rate was known. However, I am not against keeping to the average rate, as it is more exactly equitable and more convenient for you; and I think the remedying another inconveniency would, in a great measure remedy the above also. This arises from the time of sending your accounts. You know, Procurator's accounts here are always kept from the 1st of January till the end of that year. Consequently, whatever is paid you, at the end of the year, for the year past, cannot enter into his accounts here but for the year to come. The accounts of the Procurator here, always contain Whitsunday and Martinmas Terms of the same year. Yours contain Martinmas and Whitsunday Terms of two different years. Thus the two states of accounts are interfaced, and don't go hand in hand; and as the average rate of the States contain different periods, the unravelling this is a task which I would not wish a young Procurator to be en-

gaged with. How Mr. Maroch managed it I cannot say, he kept his books in a way of his own, which he never showed me, but which I have good reason to think is neither so easy nor so clear and distinct as the way you and I followed. But from the data he gave me on leaving this, I never had a more difficult task, on getting your accounts, than to clear up matters to my satisfaction, and after all, I cannot answer for the exactness. Now, as Mr. M'Pherson is coming in here just now to be Procurator, I would wish to put matters in the easiest method possible for him, which I think would be easily effected, if you would send home your accounts so as to reach this at farthest before the end of December, and include all that you received, whether for past or future, from that time last year. The state you have sent me just now, contains what would be the first half-year of your account for this year, 1792, and if you send another state before the end of this year, it will contain Autumn allowance, Logan's Luoghi, for 1792, Dauley and Robson. As for shop money, you state that for 1791 as received only, and March, 1792; but as far as I remember, it was wont formerly to be paid there always in September, and if that be done still, it will make another article in your Autumn account for this year. By this means these last articles will enter into Procurator's accounts here for the Martinmas Term, to which they properly belong; and all those others which you receive at the end of the year, or in Spring, will coincide with his Whitsunday Term following, and keep matters much more distinct and easy. As I see no inconveniency in this to you, I hope you will agree to it, and before the end of this year send home a state of what you have to receive for the ensuing half-year, and so begin your next accounts from January to January, and in expectation of this I shall explain matters to Mr. M'Pherson.

I have laboured almost this whole forenoon in writing this Letter, wishing to make my thoughts as clear to you as possible; and after all, I don't know if I have succeeded; for though I have kept my bodily health remarkably well this Winter, yet I am very sensible of a very great decay in my mental faculties. I hope you will excuse any obscurity in what is above, but from the knowledge you have of our affairs here, and method of proceeding, you will perhaps see the difficulties I wish to explain more clearly from your own reflexion than from anything I have said. In the meantime, returning my kindest compliments to Mr. Waters, and all other inquiring friends, with best wishes to yourself, I remain, dear Sir, ever yours most affectionately in Dno.”

As it happened, Mr. Thomson urged so many difficulties against the Bishop's plan, that no change was made.

Bishop Geddes had not been at home long, when we find Bishop Hay at Kirkconnell —[To B. Geddes, June 21]—in Galloway. The next day Mr. Maxwell was to take him to Munshes; whence he designed to go on to Parton, the following week; thence by Terrachty and Dumfries, back again to Edinburgh by the 29th of the month. “Tell Janet to have the room in order.” A week or two afterwards, he was on his way to his beloved Sealan, whence he addressed his Coadjutor,—[July 19]—and informed him that, contrary to his first intention, he had visited the Enzie, which had delayed his coming to the Seminary till two days before the date of his Letter. He joined Bishop Geddes’ Enzie friends in earnestly wishing that his good Friend would spend two or three weeks at Litcheston, for sea-bathing; a better plan than going to Leith.

The last day of July found Bishop Geddes and the two Vicars together at Sealan.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 11.] The new arrangements among the Missionaries were all made. Mr. Macpherson had removed to Edinburgh, Mr. William Reid succeeding him at Stobhall; Mr. Robertson had charge of the Mission at Munshes; Mr. Macdonald from Balloch [Drammond] was the successor of Mr. Menzies in the Highland Congregation at Edinburgh; his vacant Charge being supplied by young Mr. Alexander Cameron, lately arrived from Valladolid. The Buchan Mission, after a long vacaney, was now served by Mr. John Davidson. As soon as the Bishops should separate, it was Bishop Geddes’ intention to return to Edinburgh, and try sea-bathing for a rheumatism which affected his limbs, particularly his left arm and hand. He had sustained more serious injury than was at first imagined, from his harassing Negotiations in Paris. We now trace the earliest indications of the fatal disease, creeping Paralysis, which very soon put an end to the public services of this distinguished man, and under which he slowly sunk, through a period of seven years, into the arms of death.

The assembled Bishops, besides their usual Letters, addressed the Prior of the Carthusians, and the Arbiters in the late Conference at Paris, in terms expressive of gratitude for their services. To the excellent Bishop of Rhodez, also, they sent a Letter of thanks for the warm interest he had taken in the Scotch College, and for

the laborious services he had rendered it, especially by the Communication he had addressed to the Principal. The Bishops requested that he would still oblige them by watching over the affairs of the College. They concluded in these rather confused terms: “We feelingly sympathise with you for the present distressed situation of that Country; but we trust in our good God that after having purged His barn-floor, and tried His true servants, He will again restore His Vineyard to its former splendour, and our much-esteemed friend to the peaceable government of his beloved Flock, for his and their comfort and sanctification.”—[August 10.]

The Bishops were still at Sealan, August 20th. That day, they despatched their Annual Letter to Antonelli and Propaganda. They told him of the recent death of Mr. Polemon, of the ancient Family of Clanranald, a pious and devoted Prelate. They further mentioned with honour, the name of Mrs. Goldie, who, sooner than permit her children to be educated as Protestants, had embarked in stormy weather with her boy of seven and her daughter of eleven years of age; and, without giving notice till she was gone, had sought a home in the Convent of English Nuns at Ronen, depending entirely on Divine Providence. The Tutors of the children did not push matters to extremity, but sent her remittances of money.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Sept. 24.]

The Nuncio at Liege had expressed a wish to know something of the state of Religion in Scotland. Bishop Hay, while sending him a few details on the subject, endeavours to turn his curiosity to account, by hinting that if it should please God to furnish his Excellency with an opportunity of procuring some aid for the necessities of the Scottish Missions, it would be a meritorious charity, and very opportune to their wants.—[August 20. In Italian.]

The Bishops were well satisfied with the results of Bishop Geddes’ Mission to Paris, from which they anticipated much permanent benefit, whatever might be the immediate issue of affairs in France.—[B. Hay to Mr. Thomson, Aug. 20.] “In a day or two,” the Bishop adds, “B. Chisholm and Mr. Maroch propose setting off for their respective abodes, and I am now returned from pounds, shillings, and pence, to *quod sunt litera*, in which I must remain, till it

please God to send us more Hands;" alluding to his duties at Scal an, as a Master of Grammar.

When the business of the Annual Meeting was over, Bishop Geddes travelled from Tomin-toul, the nearest Village to Scal an, in a Huntly chaise to Perth; and from Perth by a chance conveyance, to Kinross; thence by the Fly to Edinburgh, Aug. 25. A few months had made a sad inroad on his strength; rheumatic stiffness and weakness now totally forbade his attempting to walk, and still less to ride on horseback. The mischief was yet confined to his left arm and hand. He could eat and sleep well, and was in good spirits. He resolved for some time at least, to make use of the best advice for his recovery; if he could perceive no improvement, and even at this early stage, his hopes were not sanguine, he would betake himself to patience alone, and jog on cheerfully, as well as he was able, so long as it should please God to leave him in life.—[To Mr. Thomson, Aug. 23. From Edinburgh.] He added the agreeable news that the Mr. Macdonell was succeeding very well at Glasgow. A very large Hall there had been hired from the Duke of Hamilton and the Lord Provost, for the avowed purpose of a Catholic Chapel. The leading Manufacturers were actually placing 300 seats in it, and had become security for the rent, which was £40. The Town-Clerk was their sincere friend; they were also countenanced by the Board of Trade, and by a Society for preventing Emigration. The Manufacturers were alive to the advantage of having sober and industrious men in their employment; and above all, the poor Catholics had God to trust to.

As the events of the French Revolution hastened onwards to anarchy, Principal Gordon's instinct of self-preservation became stronger than his attachment to the Scotch College; and he determined to abandon it, under pretext of leaving it in charge of the College lawyer. Mr. Innes, the Prefect of Studies, received notice from the Principal to leave the College in a fortnight. This, however, he refused to do; on appeal, the Prior of the Carthusians disapproved of Mr. Gordon's act, and appointed Mr. Innes, Procurator. Mr. Gordon protested, but the Prior and Mr. Innes carried the dispute before the Municipality where they must have gained their point, had not the Principal given

way, and put the affairs of the College in Mr. Innes' hands.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Sept. 24.] He was then at liberty to consult for his own safety by flight, and took up his residence in London.

The debt which unhappily remained as a burden on St. Andrew's Highland Chapel at Edinburgh, was a heavy anxiety to Bishop Geddes, who naturally enough considered himself as responsible for an obligation contracted under his own eye, and with his sanction. It was on occasions of this kind that Bishop Hay's real generosity and nobility of character shewed themselves. In trifling matters, he was often saving, and sometimes he could wound his Coadjutor by his unmerited severity; but now his tone was the reverse of all that.—[To B. Geddes, Oct. 1.] From the time that his Friend became his Coadjutor, the Bishop had always intended that what money he had of his own, should be shared between them, as Bishop Geddes' necessities, or even his conveniences might require. The provision that had been otherwise made for his Coadjutor's maintenance had left Bishop Hay no opportunity of putting his design in execution; yet it had never ceased to be his wish. What others indeed owed his Friend, it was no doubt the common desire of both, that every means should be taken to recover. But with regard to St. Andrew's Chapel, that burden had been incurred by the mismanagement of another person, which neither the Bishop nor his Coadjutor could foresee or prevent. It was the order of Providence, and Bishop Hay could regard it only as a common cause, in which he was most willing to bear his own share of the loss, at least to half the extent of it. He added with pleasure that by calling in certain sums of money, lent to various persons, he should be able to meet all demands of the Bank as to new Shares.

A few days later—[Oct. 7]—we find the Bishop consulting with his Friend and Coadjutor on a point which had not then become one of settled practice—the Baptism of Converts from certain Sects. Bishop Gibson had written to Bishop Geddes on the subject, and the Letter of the English Prelate had been sent to Scal an, for Bishop Hay's opinion. The point had often been a subject of thought to him; but as he found that the Holy See had always been very

cautious in such cases, he recommended that a clear statement of the grounds for doubt, existing in both parts of the Kingdom, should be prepared, in the name of all the British Bishops, and forwarded to Propaganda, with a request for instructions as to their future practice.

Many vicissitudes had by this time befallen the excellent young woman, Miss Marcucci, whom Bishop Hay continued through life to regard with paternal interest. Some little time previous to September, 1782, she had married a French Dancing Master, and had removed to Glasgow, where she resided for many years. In the end of September, 1792, we find Mr. Macpherson called from Edinburgh, to attend M. Bonnet, who was at the point of death, Mr. Macdonell not having yet settled in his new Mission. Madame Bonnet became a widow; and in writing to inform her friend, Bishop Hay, of the sad event, she expressed a wish to be particularly recommended to the new Missionary at Glasgow. The Bishop accordingly communicated—[Dec. 17]—with his Coadjutor on the subject, begging him to commend her to Mr. Macdonell's good offices, and to add, that it would be giving the Bishop singular pleasure, if Mr. Macdonell could be of service to Madame Bonnet, either by his advice, or in any other way. We shall find that one of the last Letters dictated by Bishop Hay was addressed to this excellent woman, who had by that time returned to Edinburgh.

The weather at Sealan, this Autumn, was rainy. It was only on the 19th October that they were able to carry home a few "stooks" of half-dry "bear." It had been arranged that John Ingram should go to Edinburgh as Schoolmaster; and as there was no depending on the weather for a single day, at this late season of the year, he was to leave Sealan at once, lest storms should come on.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Oct. 21.] There was a vacancy in the Seminary for one; but Bishop Hay would delay filling it up till he should see what became of Mr. Farquharson's family at Douay, which any day might see dispersed. Indeed, in the critical state of affairs there, he would be glad to see all the young men safe at home, and a temporary asylum must be reserved for some of them at Sealan, till they could be better provided for. Mr. Andrew Carruthers had anticipated the

final catastrophe, and was already safe with his friends in Galloway. He seems at first to have ingratiated himself with the Bishops.

Sunday, October 21st, ought to be a memorable day in the annals of the Glasgow Mission. Mr. Macdonell officiated for the first time in the new Chapel, with a Congregation of more than 200.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Oct. 25.] The intelligence was welcome to the Bishop; but his old experience taught him to fear lest the Devil might raise some storm there.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Nov. 7.] Mr. Macdonell very soon began to look forward to better days for his Mission; which made the cautious Bishop "much afraid that he had a little touch of the common turn too prevalent amongst us; yet considering the difficulties he must be exposed to, in setting up house in such a place, and in such circumstances, I am very willing that he get the town quota for a little." This was to be only provisionally, however, subject to the approval of the next meeting of Administrators.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Dec. 8.] A few days later, the Bishop bore high testimony to the fine qualities of the Glasgow Missionary.—[Same to same, Dec. 17.] "Mr. Macdonell is of a forward and intrepid disposition; but I have often seen that when Providence has a mind to bring about any event, he qualifies the instruments he makes use of for that purpose; and very often, a certain degree of boldness produces much better effects than too much timidity. I trust in God that that will be the case with our friend there." So far everything promised well for Glasgow; the Magistrates and the principal Merchants were friendly to the Missionary, and even the seditious associations that were beginning to alarm the Government made "Liberty to the Papists" one of their points of Reform. The Magistrates of Dundee, had lately made an offer to Mr. Pepper, the Missionary there, to petition Government for the extension of the English Relief Bill to Scotland; an incident which, viewed in connexion with the amicable behaviour of the Citizens of Glasgow, suggested to Bishop Hay, a little plan for obtaining this desirable boon. Why should not the four leading towns in Scotland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee, lay their heads together for that purpose? "Who knows but Providence intends that those very Places which

lately were much against us should be the means of befriending us? A bold stroke may be made, and sometimes succeeds best.”—[To B. Geddes, Dec. 17.]

The projected changes among the Missionaries had by this time taken place. Mr. Macdonald was now the Pastor of the Highland Congregation in Edinburgh, and Mr. Robertson was the Missionary Chaplain at Mungo. Another Missionary, Mr. John Macdonald, had written at great length to Bishop Hay, insisting on being appointed to Edinburgh. One of his reasons was the Conversion of his Protestant friends there. To this he added a dreadful imprecation or prophetic assertion of the account that would have to be given to God, by those who should oppose his going to Edinburgh, and thus hinder the good end he had proposed to himself. The Bishop condescended to argue the point with him. If Almighty God had designed him to be the instrument of his friends' Conversion, would not the arrangement be surely brought about in the ordinary course of Providence, and in God's good time?

Death deprived the Scottish Mission of its worthy Agent at Rome, this Autumn. He had been tolerably well, during Summer, but early in September, he had a severe illness, which did not leave him for several weeks. In October, he was well enough to accompany the Hon. Robert Plunket to Monte Casino and Naples. At Naples, he was attacked by dysentery, attended with high fever. His case was mismanaged from the first. For five weeks he struggled for his life in a Hospitium for Secular Clergy; at length, on the 9th of November, the Physicians pronounced him in great danger. Next day, he received the Viaticum, and the same evening, Extreme Unction. On the 13th of November, at one in the morning, he calmly expired, master of his senses and of his speech to the very last. An Irish Dominican Friar, Mr. Edmund Burke, saw him frequently during his illness, and after his death communicated these particulars to Mr. James Sharp, at the Scotch College, Rome, and to Mr. Smelt, the English Agent, whom Mr. Thomson had appointed as his Executor.—[Mr. Smelt to B. Geddes, Nov. 15; and Mr. E. Burke to Mr. J. Sharp, Nov. 17.] His remains were interred in the Church of the Hospitium.

This news afflicted the Scottish Bishops not a little. Mr. Thomson, indeed, had never been permitted to exercise any authority in the Scotch College; but he had been a useful Agent, and his earnest Piety had much endeared him to Bishop Hay. His last years were embittered by the rude and unfeeling behaviour of the jealous Italians, who never ceased to resent the manner in which he had been forced upon them, and which his own rough and unconciliating address never induced them to forget. “Our valuable Friend,” says Bishop Hay, “whose candour, uprightness, and zeal for the common good of our little Body I have always admired. May Almighty God grant him eternal rest, and direct us how to act.” As things were, he could see nothing else to be done but to request Mr. Smelt to do the Scottish Bishops the favour of acting as their Agent at least, till Mr. Orien's opinion could be taken. It would also be proper to write to Cardinal Antonelli, and perhaps to Albani.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Dec. 17. This Letter begins, “Much Honoured, and very dear Sir.”]

Before we dismiss the Subject of Mr. Thomson's ill-fated Mission to Rome, a word may be added in regard to his “History of the Scottish Missions.” He had access to many Papers, which have since perished. Some of the MSS. which he used still remain. But neither his habit of mind nor his training seems to have qualified him for an Historian. He even cites an Authority, apparently in ignorance of the fact, that statements made at second-hand lose half their value, without attestation of their proof. His views of some critical passages in Scottish History are too much exposed to the suspicion of Partizanship, standing, as they do, unsupported by a particle of evidence. We, indeed, know from other and authentic information, that the allegations of the Historian, instead of exceeding, probably fall far short of the truth. Yet, to give the bitterness of his just indignation any value, he ought to have built up an irrefragable body of evidence, based on attested facts. With every drawback, however, of unsupported testimony, and of uneducated style, Mr. Thomson's History is full of interest, and it might be made a useful guide to any future Historian who should venture to face the difficulties thrown in the way of any

attempt to reach authentic Documents in the Archives of Propaganda, whence alone the History of the Missions can ever be drawn. Mr. Thomson would have done better service to the Cause he and others had so much at heart, if he had simply left a Transcript of every original Document that passed through his hands.

It was, unfortunately, Bishop Hay's peculiar habit to regard a step of progress, if taken by any one else but himself, as dangerous, and not to be encouraged. He had suppressed the rising taste for Music in Chapels. He now condemned a Project, first conceived by Mr. Robertson, while a Missionary in Edinburgh, for the Publication of a "Select Library" of Catholic Books.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Oct. 21.] Perhaps the Bishop was right, until the formal Repeal of the Penal Laws should give the Scottish Catholics a position recognised by the Legislature. This, however, is certain that, in answering his query as to the Authorship of the Scheme, his Coadjutor carefully abstained from pronouncing any Opinion on its merits.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Nov. 5.]

The infection of French Politics was spreading in Scotland, where, under the name of a Constitutional Government, a virtual despotism was exercised over Public Opinion. Associations, or Clubs for the dissemination of Liberal Opinions, began to make themselves felt in Edinburgh. In November, they published their Resolutions. To their just demands for Government Reforms, they, with the want of tact and prudence incidental to nearly every popular movement, united an absurd Protest against one man's having any right to the obedience of another, with other Political tenets of the French school. Two-thirds of the Citizens of the Capital were said to countenance those opinions. Two Papers were published weekly, as their Organs. The streets echoed at night with cries, "No King! no Aristocrats!" Some of the more audacious partisans of Reform attempted to fraternise with the Soldiers in the Castle, treating them to drink, and promising every man among them 1s 6d a day, if he would join the Clubs. Information of this reckless act led to the summary apprehension and incarceration of the offenders in the Tolbooth or Jail of Edinburgh, since immortalised by the great Novelist under its romantic name of the "Heart of Mid-

Lothian." The same day, the Tree of Liberty was planted at the Market Cross of Dundee. A gentleman of effervescent loyalty, who pulled it down, had the windows of his house broken, and his manufactory entirely demolished. The Magistrates were driven from the Town, and the assistance of the Dragoons was necessary to restore order. Singularly enough, the injustice suffered by the British Catholics was put prominently forward by all those Political Clubs, as a grievous wrong, loudly calling for sympathy and redress.—[Mr. P. Macpherson to B. Hay, Nov. 26.] A weak point in the Constitution of a Nation, as in the constitution of a man, is sure to be detected and exposed, during a critical period of general infirmity.

As the Autumn advanced, there was no amendment in the health of the invalid in Blackfriars' Wynd. He consulted Dr. Gregory and Dr. Spens, but with no permanent benefit. He would fain have sought a short respite from trial, "but everyday brought him something new to be done."—[To B. Hay, Oct. 1.] His presence was much wanted at Glasgow, but that fatigue he was compelled to forego. Leith was to the Edinburgh citizen of that day what Granton or Portobello is now; the sick Bishop withdrew to Leith in the middle of October, in search of a little quiet.—[To B. Hay, Oct. 15.] In reply to this last Letter, his Friend at Sealan assured him of the concern which his poor health gave him; "May our good Lord look upon us in mercy, and grant you a perfect recovery, if it be His Holy Will."—[To B. Geddes, Oct. 21.] It was begun on the 19th, continued on the 20th, and finished on the 21st. "Late at night." Bishop Hay had ordered a new suit of Green Vestments for Sealan; but when they were consigned to Bishop Geddes, he hinted to his Friend that they would be much better bestowed upon a large Chapel in a City, than in a small one in the country. Upon which, Bishop Hay made him welcome to them, only he must send an old Suit instead of them.—[Ibid.]

Bishop Geddes could now write but slowly. It was an effort to him to say Mass. These were his principal difficulties at this time.—[To B. Hay, Nov. 5.] He adds, "With the Divine assistance, I shall always think it a great advantage to have my Purgatory here. In the meantime, I shall be doing all the little I can for the

common good." He knew what anxiety and sorrow these sad reports of his health would carry with them to his secluded Friend at Sealan. He returns to the subject towards the close of his Letter. "I beg it of you, be not concerned about my health; it will be better, if so it please God. It had been very good for a great many years. My mind, I thank God, is easy enough; and it is good to be weaned from this world, and to perceive our gradual approach to the next." By the advice of his Physicians, he was taking a good deal of Gum Guiacum—he had a blistering issue in his arm, and he lived on vegetables. He knew well that his Friend would pray for him.—[Ibid.]

His Friend, at a later period, gave expression to his anxiety thus:—"By the way, you write about your health. I am apt to fear that you are taking it too much to heart, as I do not apprehend it dangerous, especially as the Doctors think you better. Indeed, it is always good to make the proper use of sickness of any kind, and hope for the best; and, at the same time, be resigned to the will of God. I cannot be indifferent about your health, but I wish to endeavour to be resigned to God, whatever may happen, and trust in His infinite goodness that He will both support and comfort you under the present trial, and restore you to your former health again. I expect that every Letter from you or Mr. Paul [Macpherson] will bring me a particular account of how all goes on with you."—[To B. Geddes, Nov. 25.]

The next Letter of the Invalid was dictated to an Amanuensis; not that he was really worse, but for the sake of despatch he had employed Mr. Macpherson to write for him.—[To B. Hay, Nov. 26.] His subsequent Letters were in like manner dictated. "I am not apprehensive of being in immediate danger of death," he writes to his Friend,—[Dec. 10]—"and I am truly in good enough spirits, but I scarcely believe I shall ever, in this life, be again quite free of this weakness in my limbs." He regrets being compelled to add to Mr. Macpherson's many engagements, by employing him to write for him. The signature of his next Letter to Sealan—[Dec. 17]—must have pained the heart of his Friend. Its stiff and ill-formed Letters too surely betrayed the advance of disease. Yet his mind remained to the end, clear and forcible.

B. Hay responded faithfully to the pious wishes of his Friend. He still, however, clung to the hopes of his recovery, in God's own good time. "In the meantime, we must submit to the dispensations of His adorable Providence, and wait His will and pleasure. *Bonum est cum silentio prestolari Dominum.* May His infinite goodness be your comfort and support." He concluded by most cordially wishing Bishop Geddes, as usual, a plentiful share of the blessings of that Holy Season, and happy returns.—[Dec. 17.]

His Coadjutor now strongly advised him to unite with Bishop Chisholm in publishing a Pastoral Letter on the subject of the seditious spirit that had begun to show itself in the Country. Lord Adam Gordon, the Commander-in-Chief, had lately requested Bishop Geddes to speak in Chapel, to the people on this subject. The Bishop sketches out the sort of thing that the Pastoral ought to be; suggesting to his Friend that it should be short, expressive, neat, and pathetic. He had also written about it to Bishop Chisholm. There was little alteration in his health; he was in good enough spirits, however, "thank God, waiting what it may please His Divine Majesty to order."—[To B. Hay, Dec. 24.] With the close of the year, came a glimmering of hope that the disease had been arrested. Both the physician's and the invalid's own feelings testified that he was a little better.—[B. Geddes to the same, Dec. 31.]

Bishop Geddes' opinion of the good effect likely to follow a Pastoral Letter was much confirmed by several influential Protestant friends, who called on him to advise him to it. Bishop Hay entered at once into the idea, and soon was able to forward to his Coadjutor a Pastoral, which was, in fact, a little Treatise on the Civil Duties of Subjects towards their temporal Rulers.—[MS., Jan. 14, pp. 6, foolscap.] A considerable part of it is devoted to the examination and refutation of the doctrines taught on this subject by the French School of Ethics. In the Letter which accompanied the Pastoral, the Bishop says; "Your proposal of a Pastoral Letter, I much approved of, and wish you had composed the whole, as well as the Introduction. On considering the matter in my own mind, it appeared necessary not only to exhort, but to convince and instruct; and a

train of thought occurred, which seemed very proper for that purpose, as it took up the subject on a ground which, perhaps, would not occur to those who have published already upon it, as I find by the Newspapers some have done. I saw, however, that this could not be done in a few words, but I followed my own train, as I could not see another, without new-modelling all my own ideas. However, I give you full liberty to cut and carve, to chop and change upon it, as you judge proper, as you must be best judge of what is proper. But in case you approve what I here send you, it must be printed as a small Pamphlet, and I think you may cast off 500 Copies, which I shall bear the charges of, and if you think it worth while, Copies might be sent to some of our acquaintances in high stations, and particularly one, as from me to Mr. Burke, and to whom else you see proper, either in Edinburgh or at London; and the rest distributed among our people at home. The composing, correcting, and transcribing this, has taken up the two weeks since I got your proposal about it, and hindered me from writing [to] you last week." Mr. Macpherson had made an involuntary mistake of £13, in his accounts; the Bishop adds a request that Bishop Geddes would tell the new Procurator not to give himself any anxiety about it. "I am so apt to blunder myself, that I cannot be displeased at a small mistake in others; but I am very well pleased that it is rectified."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Jan. 14.]

Bishop Geddes presently offered his Friend some criticisms on the Pastoral. He expressed his opinion that there were many excellent points in it; but proposed to alter several passages, before publication; one in particular, in which his Friend had adduced the example of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, as a proof that the Authority of Kings is derived from God; an instance which Bishop Geddes thought rather unfavourable to Kings, and too much resembling the case of his reigning Majesty. There was even some doubt in his mind whether the Pastoral ought to be published at all; for, on mentioning the matter to the Lord Advocate and the Agent for the Crown, they seemed to fear that its publication might be attended with some danger, and might excite ill-will against Catholics, in the agitated state of the public mind; a result which Bishop Geddes himself

thought not improbable. As, therefore, their principal motive in issuing the Pastoral was to please those in power, it would be unnecessary to do more, without their approbation. Having made an offer to publish it, was so far well.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Jan. 23.]

Singular as it may seem to us, in the altered circumstances of our times, Bishop Hay—[To B. Geddes, Feb. 1]—entirely concurred in these views of his Coadjutor as to the inexpediency of doing anything more with the Pastoral without the approbation of "certain Friends." He left it entirely to Bishop Geddes to say what should be done. And, in fact, the idea of bringing out the Pastoral, was presently abandoned.

The following gossiping and somewhat too credulous Letter from Peter Maclachlan, a Scotch Student in Rome, addressed to Bishop Hay,—[Jan. 14]—gives a singular picture of contemporary events in Italy:—

"14th January, 1793.  
"Most Reverend and Dear Sir—Prince Ernest Augustus, the King's son, has been in Rome about two months, and intends to stay till towards the end of April. Yesterday, January 13, he came to the Academy of the Languages, at Propaganda, where he was treated with as much respect and distinction, as they could have done the Pope himself, the hall being most superbly hung with rich tapestry, and a throne erected for him in the middle. His Holiness still continues strong and robust. Since the beginning of August he has appointed three general Jubilees in order to avert the dangers that were likely threatening Christendom in general, but this Capital in particular. And indeed, his fears were by no means unreasonable; for had not the Almighty hand of God manifestly interposed, I don't know what condition we would have been in at present. The French, ever since the end of Sept. last, were, with all possible diligence, fitting out a fleet about Marseilles, Toulon, and these other Ports. Towards the end of November, they completed their squadron, which consisted of 26 ships of the line, besides a great many other vessels of burden and transport. Without giving the least intimation of their design, they sailed immediately to Naples, and before ever they were observed, drew up in line of battle in the very Port, and in such a direction that they might have laid the greatest part of the Town in ashes; whereas the batteries the Neapolitans had on the Port, could not be of the least service for their defence, so skilfully did the French draw up. The Neapolitans seeing themselves thus deprived of all means of assist-

ance, and left entirely at the discretion of their enemies, hoisted up immediately the flag of truce, upon which the French Admiral came ashore, and went to the King, who, thus constrained, agreed to whatever the Admiral pleased to propose. Accordingly, he commanded that he should declare neutral, approve all the proceedings of the *French Republic*, as they now call it, send an Ambassador to Paris, and deliver all the French Emigrants in his kingdom. To all these conditions the King immediately subscribed, and so, the French retired, well pleased, no doubt, with their success. This happened about the 15th of December. After leaving Naples, they sailed straight over to Sardinia, and on the 21st December, being the Feast of St. Thomas Ap., they drew up in order of battle before Cagliari. Their fleet, at that time, together with the ships of transport and burthen, consisted of 56 sail. The people of Cagliari seeing themselves thus unexpectedly attacked by so powerful an enemy, and despairing of any assistance from human power, had recourse to the Almighty by humble prayer and supplication. God, who is never wanting to those that trust in Him, soon manifested His power. All on a sudden, the heavens darkened, and the skies grew black, and in the twinkling of an eye there rose a most frightful hurricane. The fleet was immediately dispersed, and never since heard of, excepting the Admiral's ship, the *Landquedoc* of 96 guns, and the *Tonante* of 92, which the day after arrived at Naples, but in such a shattered condition as is more easily imagined than expressed; without masts, sails, or even cannons, having been obliged to turn everything overboard, that was not absolutely necessary for their preservation; nay, they were so terribly harassed by the tempest, that they threw over the greater part of the men themselves. This news arrived here on the 27th December, when the Pope gave notice of it to the Cardinals, in his Chapel at the Vatican, where they were all assembled on account of the solemnity of Christmas. He also told them that by that means his State was saved; for, he said he had previous notice that, whenever the French had obliged the Sardinians to the same conditions they had extorted from the Neapolitans, they designed to come and plunder Rome. Yet, this certainly would not have been done without great bloodshed, for at present there are no fewer than sixty thousand soldiers on the coast, which is also well fortified, and defended with batteries; other ten thousand are stationed in Rome, to keep the Romans in awe, and prevent any revolution, which his Holiness is very afraid may take place. But in my opinion, he has no reason to dread any such thing from the people. For within these two days past they have given the greatest proofs of their antipathy at the very name of a Frenchman, and all their so much boasted of liberty, and of their fidelity and loyalty to their

sovereign, and their readiness to defend the State at the peril of their lives. The disturbances and commotions proceeding from this natural, and in a manner, inbred hatred the Romans bear the French are daily increasing in this Metropolis. More soldiers than citizens are to be met with in every street. Parties, to the number of twenty or thirty in each, go about, patrolling through the city day and night. Yesterday afternoon, their occurred a circumstance which I cannot omit. About three weeks ago, one Basville, Secretary to the French Ambassador at Naples, came to Rome, and ordered the old Arms of France to be taken down from the French Academy. This, the Pope at first absolutely refused to allow by any means, but after due deliberation and reflection, thought it better they should be taken down than any disturbance raised in the City for such a trifle as this, to the most judicious, appeared to be. They were accordingly taken down from the Academy and Post-Office. After having gained this, Basville attempted to put up the Arms of *Liberty*, but this the Pope would upon no consideration allow, fearing the impression it might make on the minds of the people. However, those of the Academy, out of hatred to the very remembrance of royalty, pulled down and broke in pieces a fine statue of Louis XIV., who founded and endowed the Academy, and which was placed at the grand entry of the first court. After this Basville wrote to the French Ambassador at Naples, giving him an account of his proceedings, and at the same time informing him that the Pope would by no means allow the Arms of *Liberty* to be put up. The Ambassador, highly offended at this, sent immediately the Admiral of the Fleet that had been destroyed at Cagliari, to Rome, with a threat that if the Pope would not allow the Arms to be put up, he would come without delay, with five hundred thousand men, and sack and plunder Rome. The Pope having heard this, told him with all quietness, that he had no other desire but that the will of God might be done; but that the Arms of *Liberty* should never be put up in Rome while he filled St. Peter's Chair. Thus things went on for about a week. Yesterday, Jan. 13, Basville and the Admiral made a great dinner at one of the principal inns of Rome, and invited the greater part of the French that are here, which, indeed, is a good number, and also many Italians—few or none of the latter, however, went. After they finished dinner, the Secretary and Admiral went into their Carriage, and ordered their servants behind to put the National cockade in their hats, which they did. They themselves also put on the cockade, and some other ensigns of *Liberty*. Thus they proceed from the inn where they had dined, towards Porto del Popolo, and then turned down the Course, as they call it. They did not pass far unperceived; immediately a mob gathers about them. About two hundred

soldiers were forthwith called; notwithstanding all the efforts they made, they could not keep off the people, so that they tore their coach in pieces. However, the soldiers with great difficulty got Basville and the Admiral out of their hands, and were conducting them to a place of security, in spite of all the violence of the people, who wanted nothing but to tear them in pieces. They had arrived as far as Piazza Colonna, when Basville, being either drunk, or entirely mad and stupefied, took out a small pistol, and discharged it at one of the soldiers who were defending him from the populace. The soldier received the ball in the left arm, and was but very little hurt; but highly enraged at the insolent and outrageous behaviour of Basville, he drew his sword and struck him and wounded him grievously; upon this one of the rabble fêched him such a blow upon the head with an axe that he fell down and died within a few minutes. The Admiral, his companion, also received a mortal wound, of which he died. After this, the people, much elated with their success, to the number of above twenty thousand, set out immediately for the Academy, which they found shut. Upon this, they immediately brought a great number of fascines and other combustibles, and so burned down the gate. Immediately they rushed in, broke all the windows, destroyed everything that came in their way, and had got everything ready to set it on fire, when the Governor, highly disapproving of such indiscreet zeal, (though much to be commended) ordered out two thousand soldiers, who prevented their views. Being frustrated in this, they proceeded all in a body, towards the Ghetto, with an intention to set it on fire, and burn all the Jews within it, whom they suspected (and indeed not without reason) to be friends of the French. The Pope, highly disapproving of such an imprudent step, and abominating such a cruelty, ordered immediately all the soldiers of the town to repair thither, and prevent, by all means possible, the execution of such an inhuman design. Cardinal Zelada, Secretary of State to the Governor, went also along with them, and calling upon the people, they dissuaded them from such an attempt, telling them that it was highly disgusting and offensive to the Pope. Upon this, they were at last prevailed upon, with great difficulty to disperse, towards two o'clock in the morning. This afternoon, they have again assembled, and are resolved to set it on fire, in spite of all the opposition that may be made. Multitudes of people are now crowding through the streets in every corner of the City, and resolved never to desist till they have murdered every Frenchman in Rome, and everyone whom they suspect favours or approves their new Constitution. Nothing is heard in every quarter of the City but *Viva il Papa!* *Viva il Papa!* These are the beginnings, violent enough, indeed; what the end may be it is hard to tell. A vast number of French,

both Seculars and Clergy, have this day left Rome, terrified at the rage and fury of the populace. The *Trasteverini*, as they call them, particularly signalize themselves on this occasion. . . .

“P. S.—This evening, I have been informed that when the King’s son left Propaganda, last night, and having occasion to pass through the mob that was assembled on the above-mentioned occasion, as soon as they perceived him, they flocked around him and began to cry out *Viva il Re, e la familia Reale d’Inghilterra, Viva l’Inghilterra, Viva il Papa ed Inghilterra*, and could by no means be prevailed upon to depart till they had kissed his hand, as is the custom here in Italy. So much reputation has England gained here by reason of the decent and becoming behaviour of the English who resort here in vast numbers.” . . .

The question of the Roman Agency was beginning to press itself on the attention of the Bishops. Who should succeed Mr. Thomson? The importance of a good Agent there, was fully recognised, but the scarcity of Missionaries made it difficult to spare one. Mr. Smelt, the English Agent, was requested to supply the want, for a time; but both the interests of the Scotch College, as well as the business of the Mission, called for the presence of a Scottish Agent in Rome. Whenever Albani should die, it was hoped that something might be done for the Reformation of the College. A rumour had got abroad that a Representative of the Holy See was on his way to London, to solicit the aid of England against the French. Bishop Hay, while exclaiming,—[To B. Geddes, Jan. 22]—“An Ambassador of any kind from Hilton to London, is indeed an extraordinary phenomenon! but how can we be surprised at anything in this age of wonders?” saw a new opportunity of attempting something in behalf of the Scotch Roman College. If the Roman Mission should succeed, perhaps Mr. Henry Dundas, would as a favour request the appointment of a National Superior to the Scotch College. Cogent reasons, bearing on the matter of Education, might be urged on the Minister, to induce him to interfere.

After some consultation with Bishop Chisholm, it was unanimously agreed that Mr. Paul Macpherson was the man best qualified for the Roman Agency; his usefulness at home, as Procurator for the Clergy, being in fact, the only difficulty in the way. His own feelings

strongly inclined him to the Office. He hoped Providence would put it into the hearts of the Bishops to let him go to Rome, it would be the greatest happiness he could look for, on this side the grave.—[To B. Hay, Jan. 28.] When all was settled, he expressed his satisfaction to Bishop Hay;—[April 15]—“I certainly had always a very great wish to leave my bones in Rome, and somehow I could never prevail upon myself to doubt but my wishes would be accomplished. I see now, kind Providence has brought it about in a sweet, easy manner.”

The situation of Douay College was hurrying to a crisis. The Bishops placed such entire confidence in Mr. Farquharson as to leave it to himself to make the best bargain he could for the College, which was now narrowly watched, and the public seals put on its property.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, March 11.] He had made every arrangement for sending home his Students, under the charge of Mr. Alexander Paterson. Some of these were destined for Valladolid, some were to finish their studies at home. One of them, Mr. Andrew Scott, had just begun his Divinity, and was destined as a companion for Mr. Andrew Carruthers, at Scalan. The Students were safely landed in London, and thence shipped to Berwick, arriving in Edinburgh in the middle of April, followed by Mr. Paterson a fortnight later. One of the lads was a pensioner; another, Malcolm, belonged to the Highland District; the names of some of the Lowland Students will long be familiar in that district; Andrew Scott, William Macdonald, William Wallace, James Paterson, William Smith, and Alexander Badenoch.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, April 22.]

The attention of the Catholic Body was again directed to the removal of their Penal Disabilities, in consequence of a new practical grievance, which, at this time, affected one of their number, Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, whose Annandale Estate was claimed by the next Protestant heir. Bishop Hay's remarks, on hearing of this new outrage, were to this purpose.—[To Bishop Geddes, Feb. 1.] “It will make a curious appearance in the eyes of the world, if, whilst Catholics are getting every indulgence they can reasonably desire, throughout the whole British Dominions, he [Munshes] should

be deprived of such an Estate merely because he is a Catholic. However, God Almighty has His own ends in view; we must refer all to His Divine Providence, who knows how to bring good out of evil.” And again, “I hope Munshes' affair will, in the hands of Providence, produce some good. Fiat! Fiat!!”—[To B. Geddes, Feb. 11.]

The Agent for the Crown in Edinburgh, hinted to Bishop Geddes that when the Irish Relief Bill should pass, the Scottish Catholics would do very well to bring their claims under the notice of Parliament.—[To B. Hay, Feb. 7.] Bishop Hay's views on the subject are expressed in the following Letter to his Coadjutor—[March 18]—in which he insists on a general Repeal of Disabilities, rather than of those only which affected the power of Catholics to hold Property.

“March 18, 1793.

“I think it were a thousand pities not to make some attempt to improve the present opportunity; perhaps the like of it may not occur in a hurry. If Mr. Constable gets any motion made for securing our property, would it not be proper for you to write to Lord Gower, before it come in, to see if he could get any of his friends to move for the extension of the English Bill to Scotland? Could you not suggest it to Mr. Dundass, Secretary. Who knows, my dear Sir, but as Mordocceus said to Esther, God Almighty has given you so much favour with these, or other great men, that you might use it on this occasion to get us freed from the oppressive laws that still stand against us. The general run of the country is in our favour, and I do not think that your using your endeavours with your great friends could do any harm. If they do not incline it, you have done, at least, your part. If matters were carried through at once, there could not be the least danger, but if property alone were sought and obtained, they might raise a sputter (if they were inclined to make one) to prevent our getting more, of which property would be considered as a prelude. This was the rock our friends split upon, when the first application was made; had Scotland been included in the first Bill, there probably would have been no disturbance. And from the experience of what happened then, I am fully persuaded that it would be much easier to get the whole at once, just now, than to get a part now and the rest hereafter. Might you not at least suggest these reflections to Mr. Constable, as well as to your other friends? Consider this, I entreat you, and let not your best endeavours be wanting, through a false timidity, which afterwards might be a source of regret.” . . . .

Bishop Hay repeats his views to his Friend, —[March 23]—urging him to communicate with some of their great friends; and much afraid that if the temporal part of the desired Relief be alone sought and obtained, the Catholic Body would not easily or soon find another opportunity of gaining the rest. All, however, was in the hands of a good God, to whose blessed Will and Providence, they must submit everything. He had addressed a Circular Letter to the Catholic Proprietors, inviting their co-operation with Munshes, and proposing, as the most expeditious, and economical plan, the simple extension of the English Bills of Relief, to Scotland. “We cannot expect, nor would I desire more; and if we got it, it would make us very easy.” Mr. Menzies, Pitfodels, was associated with Munshes and Mr. Constable, in bringing the matter before Parliament. The Lord-Advocate, April 22d, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to relieve the Scottish Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by former Acts of the Scottish Parliament, and especially in the 8th and 9th Sessions of the first Parliament of King William. The Preamble of the Bill asserted that former Acts of repression had been deemed expedient, as chiefly directed against persons who acknowledged, or were supposed to acknowledge the temporal superiority or power of the Pope over Scotland; an opinion contrary to the allegiance of the subjects of that Kingdom. The Preamble to the new Bill further declared that the *Formula* hitherto imposed on the Roman Catholics in Scotland, amounted to a renunciation only of speculative and dogmatic opinions. It was, therefore, enacted that, from this date, the Scottish Roman Catholics who should take and subscribe the Oath of Abjuration, and the declaration annexed to the Bill, should be exempted from all the pains, penalties, and disabilities imposed, enacted, revived, ratified, and confirmed by the said Act of the 8th and 9th Sessions of the 1st Parliament of King William III., as fully and effectually as if such persons had actually made the renunciation of Popery thereby ordained, according to the formula thereunto subjoined. —[Butler's Memoirs of English Catholics, iv. 109.]

Such was the Legal shuffling necessary to obtain even a measure of justice for Scottish

Catholics. The Formula was declared to have been aimed at persons who held Political doctrines inconsistent with the duties of good British subjects. Yet the Formula was also declared to comprehend only Religious opinions, and to be, therefore, inoperative, as regarded Political opinions. For which reason, the new Act of Relief proposed to substitute a more efficient check to Political heresy, under cover of which the offensive formula was set aside as inefficient; and thus, a measure of Religious liberty was secured for the Roman Catholics in Scotland. The Bill was read a first time, April 25th, and its provisions were even more favourable than the Catholics themselves had hoped for.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, May 9.] The Oath subjoined was the same as that prescribed by the last English Relief Act, and was one against which no scruple could exist.—[Ibid.] By taking it, a Catholic was fully enabled to acquire, possess, and dispose of his real and personal estate in Scotland, as any other subject could. An exception was, however, retained, which forbade any Catholic, even after taking the Oath, from discharging the Office of a Governor, Chaplain, Pedagogue, Teacher, Tutor, or Curator, Chamberlain or Faetor, to any child, or children of Protestant parents; neither could he be employed in their education, or in the trust and management of their affairs. The Bill prohibited a Catholic from being a Schoolmaster, Professor, or public Teacher of any Science in Scotland. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the Bill was thankfully received by the Catholic Body; Bishop Hay's only disparaging remark being that the exception about teaching was rather inconvenient. —[To B. Geddes, May 22.] The Bill passed the Upper House, May 24th, and received the Royal assent June 3d. Bishop Geddes, while communicating this good news to Bishop Hay,—[June 8. Dated Leith]—sincerely congratulates his Friend upon it, and hopes the Bishop may live many years to see the good effects produced by this favour of Providence. He adds some interesting particulars:—

“The first sketch of the Bill, which was concerted in Scotland, would have excluded converts from all benefit of the Act, and had a clause declaring illegal all donations to Religious Societies. But these odious parts were cut

off by the present and late Chancellor. There was not the least direct opposition made to us in either House of Parliament; but it is suspected that Colonel Macleod and the Duke of Norfolk, by proposing to give us more privileges, intended to create delays, and even, perhaps, to raise discontent in Scotland. It seems Lord George [Gordon] also bestirred himself; but there has scarcely been a murmur, that I have heard, which I believe owing greatly to the quiet manner in which the affair has been gone about, and the very obliging disposition of the publishers of our newspapers, who unanimously agreed to reject every inflammatory composition that was offered them for publication. There was no mention made of us, in the General Assembly. Its Moderator, Dr. Hardie, had seen the Bill at London, and had said that it was not favourable enough to us. The Lord Advocate has behaved extremely well; and last week, when I thanked him, he seemed happy at what he had done, and assured me, the few exceptions had been left merely for peace's sake, but that they will never be minded. We meet with many congratulations, but none seems to be more glad at this event, than your friends, Mr. Arbuthnot and Andrew Stuart, [Protestants.] Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, is returned home in very good spirits, and has brought another emigrant Priest along with him. He and Mr. Constable have paid the expenses in the first instance, and will not, I believe, be very rigorous in exacting repayment; but Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels, from whom I heard yesterday from Tunbridge Wells, is strongly of opinion that all Proprietors should contribute proportionally, and has written to that purpose to Kirkconnell. You will, I am persuaded, think his proposal reasonable, and the sum is, I believe, very moderate. Lord Kelly was the mover, in the House of Lords, and expressed great satisfaction in having been so, when he lately dined with Mr. Arbuthnot, where Mr. Macpherson also was. With regard to the Act itself, it almost puts an end to the Penal Laws against us, as the exceptions are so few and trifling, and purposely, there is no penalty annexed to them. Besides, the English Catholics have it in contemplation to apply soon for being put entirely on the same footing with other subjects; and when that happens we may now reasonably hope to be included with them."

Bishop Geddes further remarks that, although he formerly had some objections to the Clause in the Oath regarding the Protestant succession, on further consideration his difficulty had vanished. As that succession had become part of the law of the land, and perhaps necessary for its tranquillity, as things were, he submitted to it, and could safely promise to maintain it, as long as it should continue to be the law of

the State. "Every prudent person amongst us," he concludes, "will see how proper it is for us not to appear elevated on this occasion, so as to give any offence to Protestants, and this behaviour, you will no doubt recommend."

In the Spring of this year, Bishop Hay made several short excursions from Scal an to the Enzie. Early in March, on his way back to the Seminary, he visited his old Friend, Mr. Guthrie, at Mortlach, to give him advice as to his failing health; arriving there at night, "in a pretty inconvenient storm." While the Bishop remained at Mortlach, he was summoned to the bedside of Mr. Menzies, the old Benedictine, at Auchentoul. The danger was at first imminent, but it passed away.—[B. Hay, *Mortlach*, to B. Geddes, March 7.] The Bishop then resumed his slow journey towards Scal an. He was some days, "storm-stayd," at Aberlour, a favourite resort of his, on the Spey, a little above Craigillachie. He made his way to Scal an, about the middle of March, fortunate in having reached it before the setting in of a fresh snowfall, on the day he was writing to his Coadjutor. —[March 18.]

As a favourable opportunity for a complete reconciliation with Mr. John Reid, the Bishop, at some inconvenience, undertook to supply the Mission at Preshome, during the temporary absence of the Missionary. He had hardly got back to the Seminary before we find him in his old residence at Preshome.—[March 23.] Travelling always agreed with him; but he was apprehensive of the numerous Confessions that probably awaited him in the Enzie, while he was performing Mr. Reid's duty. Hearing Confessions he had always found most distressing to his head. He had just returned from Licheston, where he had met Mr. Todd, the Duke of Gordon's Steward, at tea. The Duke was at the Castle, and was soon to be in Glenlivat, and while there, would probably make Scal an his residence. After passing a fortnight at Preshome, the Bishop once more sought his congenial seclusion at Scal an, visiting Mortlach, and the remote Mission at Shenvale, on his way

The health of his beloved Friend and Coadjutor declined, slowly, but too surely. It now began to appear that the advancing palsy was more alarming than the rheumatism with

which it had first begun. In February, Dr. Gregory still held out great hopes of cure, under the influence of good air, moderate exercise, and spare vegetable diet, and as complete an exemption from care and fatigue, as was possible. The gentle Invalid much wished to have a Spring and Summer of recreation if it could be granted him. Not that he would be altogether idle; but with an amanuensis he hoped to dictate something not entirely useless, on a subject which he had always near his heart;—the History of the Scottish Missions. The importance of preserving it, seemed to him to grow greater every day, and the period at which it had then arrived, was a critical one. Though desiring rest, he was still “willing to toil always the little he can.” When he went Abroad in 1790, and when he was in the North, in the Summer of 1792, he thought repose necessary for him; but his duty called him to do what was agreeable to Bishop Hay, and what their common affairs demanded. He submitted those remarks to his Friend with perfect confidence, leaving the determination of what was best to his decision. He had so many conveniences in and around Edinburgh, that he confessed he should be sorry to leave it; but yet, this must not hinder his Friend from deciding for the public good. Perhaps too much concerning himself.”—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, Feb. 7.]

This appeal brought a masterly exposition of plans from Scalau, almost by return of Post.—[Feb. 11. Dated *Preshome.*] Bishop Hay assumed as their basis that his Coadjutor would be under the necessity of going to the Country for his health, and that it was doubtful whether he would derive much benefit from it, at least for a considerable time. Any arrangement, therefore, that had to be made, must be more or less of a permanent kind, pending the effect produced on Bishop Geddes’ health. Mr. Macpherson could hardly be left alone in Edinburgh, in his double capacity, as Missionary and as Procurator; and, indeed, since Bishop Gordon’s time, it had always been found expedient to have a Bishop there. Bishop Hay must therefore reside there himself. “I shall never seek to spare myself,” he adds, “whatever it may cost me, when the common good, or your health requires it.” But in that event, what was to

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become of Scalau? It might still be of great use to the Mission, and if the Revolutionary spirit then abroad, should continue, the Mission might have to depend principally upon it. It was still only beginning to be efficient, and needed much attention to mature its capabilities; more than could probably be expected from any Superior but a Bishop. Even during Bishop Hay’s late absence in Edinburgh, the Seminary had suffered more than could well have been believed. Now, if Bishop Geddes could retire to Scalau, all cause of anxiety about it would disappear. But would it be a proper place for him? Bishop Hay must decline to determine that. His sick Friend would no doubt enjoy excellent air, a vegetable diet, moderate exercise, with no greater charge than he pleased, as the boys would be rather an amusement to him, Mr. Andrew Carruthers relieving him of the drudgery. But as to the suitableness of the Seminary in other respects, Bishop Geddes alone could judge. One thing, however, was certain, that if he continued in bad health, and if Mr. Macpherson must go as Agent to Rome, Bishop Hay must remove to Edinburgh. “With regard to my opinion about your health, I always considered your case to be of the Paralytical kind, at least since the full accounts you gave me of it, I think, at our last Gibston Meeting; and I honestly own to you, my most dear Sir, with that candour which I owe to you as a real Friend, that I have no great expectations of a thorough recovery, at least of a speedy one, whatever the doctors may say; I have known people, even of a considerable age, who, after a sudden and even severe fit of Palsy, have recovered beyond expectation, but when it begins in a manner, insensibly, as yours did, and advances almost by imperecible degrees to the length yours has come, I own, I see little ground to expect what we so earnestly wish for. Thus I have laid before you what occurs to me on this subject; consider it at your leisure; consult about it with whom you please; I only beg of you to pay no regard to what you may suppose agreeable to my inclinations, or my convenience; but only what you, or others may judge best for you, and for the common cause, and assure yourself that I shall most readily agree to it.

To these proposals, Bishop Geddes replied—

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[Feb. 18]—that his present indisposition had come on very gradually; it was more than five years since he had first felt a weight in his leg, and a weakness in his left arm. He perceived, on his last visit to Scal an that his Friend had little hopes of his recovery. He returned sincere thanks to his Friend for his explicit declaration of that opinion, which entirely coincided with his own. Yet he should wish for a time to use proper means for his recovery, perhaps it might please God to bless them. Scarcely any one, he believed, had a greater veneration for Scal an than he had; but he owned that he would much rather be there in health than in sickness. He feared the damp and cold, during the greatest part of the year. Not to mention the distance of medicines and medical advice, which was perhaps of little consequence, he dreaded the want of some person of discretion to attend him, and suggest proper remedies for his health. At Scal an, also, the state of its affairs would make it impossible for him to divest himself of much anxiety on their account. He was also sure to be much consulted about Missionary affairs, to the North of the Grampians. These objections he proposed that his Friend might weigh them, but not yield to them, unless they seemed to him valid. In many respects, the Invalid thought he might be more useful at Scal an than anywhere else. If his Friend could, in the next twelvemonths, settle Scal an on a proper footing, and the surrounding Missions as well, he would meanwhile do his best to regain his health, and next Winter prepare for his removal from Edinburgh to the Seminary, which he would cheerfully engage to do, in Spring, 1794. Still, he would do just as his Friend pleased, and would make himself happy, whatever might be determined.

Bishop Hay again reviewed the whole circumstances of the case, and the exigencies of the Mission;—[Feb. 21. Dated *Preshome*]—adding—

“Feb. 21, 1793.

“There is certainly nothing I always more wished than an entire confidential communication of sentiments between you and me, either about our own particular, or our common concerns, and I cannot accuse myself of any deficiency on my side. On this account your candid exposition of your sentiments concerning your going to Scal an is most agreeable to me.

It would seem, however, on perusing yours, that you had, in some degree, misapprehended my meaning in what I wrote you on that subject, as if I wished to be elsewhere myself. Believe me, my dear Sir, that is not the case. I never was happier since I came to the Mission than I am at Scal an, and were it not for the other duties of my Charge, I would be content never to be without the limits of its enclosures. I have got a set of excellent Servants, who go hand in hand for the good of the place, and live in the most perfect harmony, ever since a certain person left the place, insomuch that I have not the smallest concern whether I be at home or abroad, either for things within, or without doors. My boys are every day more tractable, content, and happy, and so far am I from wishing to be out of that place, that I am just now concerting with our good Friend, Mr. Todd, to get a small addition to our farm, and a long Lease upon the whole, which he very much approves, in order to make it a little more useful for our views. At the same time, if my duty, or the common good calls me elsewhere, I should not hesitate a moment to leave it. All I meant on that subject, was to lay before you what occurred to me, as a matter of consideration in the supposition of your leaving Edinburgh, namely, how Edinburgh was to be supplied if you were at a distance from it, and what could be done with Scal an if I were to go to Edinburgh without any regard to my own inclinations, which I wish never to have the smallest influence on our deliberations about our common concerns, leaving entirely to your own determination what should appear most for your own convenience.” . . . .

The reiterated opinion of Bishop Hay, that if he himself must go to Edinburgh, his Coadjutor must supply his place at Scal an, virtually left Bishop Geddes no choice, especially as by this time, Mr. Macpherson's appointment to the Roman Agency had been decided on. If we may be permitted now to regret an incident, long ago forgotten by the gentle spirit that was then passing through its fiery trial, it was certainly a pity that more weight was not given to Bishop Geddes' objections to Scal an, as a residence for an invalid. He made the attempt as we shall see, to gratify his Friend, and live at the Seminary; but it precipitated the decay of his powers. His Physicians, indeed, Dr. Gregory and Dr. Spens, did not forbid the attempt, provided he could be insured absolute repose of body and mind, for a few months. But the Invalid himself, more truly “was something afraid” of the cold and damp, although the retirement of the Seminary was con-

genial to his tastes, and would benefit his health as he hoped.—[To B. Hay, April 1.] On Holy Thursday, he blessed the Oils at Edinburgh for the last time. The month of April he passed chiefly at Leith. “Peace and rest,” he writes, “would, I believe, be very expedient for my health, but I have little hopes of obtaining it; which, however, thank God, gives me no great uneasiness. May we be enabled to do our duty.”—[To the same, April, 22.] At this time all his Letters were written to his dictation by Mr. Macpherson.

With a view to his cherished hope of seeing something done for the History of Scottish Mission, Bishop Geddes proposed to carry with him to Sealan, a collection of old Letters lying by him, out of which he would extract at his leisure, any information they might contain, relating to the Mission. The more he turned his attention to this subject, the more importance it assumed. A knowledge of Mission History might have prevented many disputes.—[To B. Hay, April 30.] To this proposal, his Friend had no objection, except on account of the demand on his strength that it might occasion, beyond his feeble powers, and what his Physician had advised.

Bishop Hay was now preparing to leave Sealan for Edinburgh. Two trunks preceded him to Aberdeen, to be sent on by sea, containing his little necessaries.—[To B. Geddes, May 22.] His last Letter from the Seminary to his Coadjutor is occupied in the discussion of some proposed changes among the Clergy. Mr. Paterson, “a very sensible, well-principled young man,” he designed for Glenlivat. It was the wish of some that Mr. Charles Maxwell should succeed Mr. Macpherson at Edinburgh, but to this, Bishop Hay was quite opposed; experience having taught him that changes of all kinds, even when necessary, are always attended with many inconveniences, and often with injury to the people. He reserved Mr. James Sharp for his own Assistant in the Mission duty at Edinburgh; himself discharging the Office of Procurator, at least for a year.—[To B. Geddes, May 29.] June 8th, he bade adieu once more to his favourite retreat at Sealan; serving the Mission Auchendown next day, on his way to Auchentoul and Keith. Thence he continued his journey, by easy stages to Aberdeen; and so, ou-

wards to the capital, where he expected Bishop Chisholm to meet him in July. The Invalid, Bishop Geddes, was sensibly weaker, whenever necessity imposed any labour upon him; but he still ate and slept well, and had not much pain.—[B. Geddes to B. Hay, June 8. Dated Leith, and addressed to Aberdeen.]

## CHAPTER XIX.

1733.

BB. Hay and Geddes take the Oaths to Government—B. Hay resides at Edinburgh, B. Geddes at Sealan—Pastoral on Repeal of Penal Laws—Domestic troubles at Sealan—B. Geddes becomes rapidly worse—Mr. Macpherson's Journey to Rome—B. Geddes is removed to Aberdeen—His Sufferings and his Patience—Contributes Articles to the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—Mgr. Erskine's Visit to Britain.

When Bishop Hay arrived in Edinburgh, he found that the Bishop of the Highlands could not join the Meeting, this year, on account of illness.—[Common Letter to Propaganda, July 12.] The two Bishops of the Lowland District, therefore, dispatched the Annual Letters to Rome, and had the satisfaction of informing Cardinal Antonelli of the Repeal of the Penal Laws. They also communicated the same grateful intelligence to his Holiness, beseeching him, at the same time, to apply some remedy to the disorganised condition of the Scotch College in Rome. Mr. Macpherson, the new Agent, was furnished with his credentials, and began to prepare for his journey.

July 11th both of the Bishops appeared before Mr. Henry Davidson, Sheriff-Substitute of Mid-Lothian, and took and subscribed the Oath, Abjuration, and Declaration under the recent Act, 33 George III., for the Relief of the Catholics in Scotland.—[Original Certificates at Preshome.] The Bishops are designated “George Hay, Bishop of Daulia, Vicar-Apostolic, residing in Edinburgh,” and “John Geddes, Bishop of Morocco, Vicar-Coadjutor in Scotland, residing in Edinburgh.”

This was the last public act of the Coadjutor in Edinburgh. His work there was finished. His accomplishments and his virtues had endeared him to a large circle, including men of every religious persuasion; to his personal influence was mainly owing the revolution in pub-

lic opinion, which had thus happily resulted in the Relief Bill. Lawyers, Judges, and men of letters, had learnt to respect the Religion of a man whom they felt to be their equal in intellectual endowments, and whose nature was as genial, as it was highly gifted. The mind of his great Friend, Bishop Hay, though probably stronger and deeper, was less versatile in its powers, and less qualified to shine in general Society. Men revered the Bishop, but they loved the Coadjutor. A similar feeling attracted the Clergy and the Laity of his own Communion, to Bishop Geddes. It must have been a sorrowful day in St. Margaret's Chapel, when his white head was seen for the last time, at the altar of God.

The day after he had taken the Oath, Bishop Hay issued a Pastoral Letter, in the name of all the Scottish Bishops, to the Clergy and Laity on the recent repeal of the Penal Laws. Referring to those laws as once in force against Catholics, he observes:—"Those times, blessed be God! are now no more. Our humane and generous Legislators, after being fully satisfied as to the innocence of our tenets, the purity of our moral doctrine, our attachment to Government, and our love to the happy Constitution of our Country, have, with the greatest unanimity and approbation of both Houses of Parliament, repealed the Penal Laws that stood against us, and extended to us, the Catholics of this Country, the favour lately granted to those of England and Ireland; by which we may now enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of our Holy Religion." The Bishop next called upon the Faithful to return thanks to Almighty God, for His recent goodness to them; to Him they owed the humane dispositions of their Rulers; to Him, the acquiescence of the whole Nation in what their Rulers had done for them. To gratitude they were bound to join a sincere repentance for their own sins and the sins of their forefathers, which had provoked the Divine anger against them. As to their earthly Rulers, Catholics were bound to pray for them, and to show, on all occasions, a high respect, and a strict obedience to the Laws, as faithful subjects of his Majesty, as good Citizens, and worthy members of Society. The Bishop, in conclusion, besought the Catholic Body, to use their recovered liberty with prudence and moderation,

so as, by their quiet and peaceable demeanour, to convince the world they were not unworthy of the favour lately bestowed on them.

The tone of this Pastoral Letter is a model of temperate and chastened expression, in singular contrast to some inflated and pretentious manifestoes, which we, alas! have seen, and of which we are likely to taste the bitter fruits, for years to come.—[Dated July 12, 1793.]

Bishop Hay now resumed the principal charge of the Congregation in Edinburgh, taking up his residence in the House underneath St. Margaret's Chapel, on the West side of Blackfriars' Wynd, where his name, MR HAY, may still be seen, in faded paint, on the strong outer door of the house, opening on the third floor of the common stair (No. 35.) His first Letter to his Coadjutor, addressed to Sealan, is dated July 19. Mr. Macpherson had left him, to pay farewell visits to his friends in the North. Mr. James Sharp had just arrived from London, having completed his journey from Rome in seven weeks, at an expense of 114 crowns. On his route he had visited Loretto, had staid a fortnight at Ferrara; thence he travelled by water to Mantua, where he took the Diligence to Muspruck, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Frankfort, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, Brussels, Ghent, and Ostend. He found Mr. Oliver at Ostend, on a Mission of Charity to some sick soldiers of the 77th Regiment. Some of them wanted to become Converts. "Spiritus ubi vult spirat."—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, July 19 and 20.] Sir William Forbes, and many others of Bishop Geddes' numerous friends, had been making many kind inquiries after his health.—[Same to same, July 31.]

The Invalid accomplished his journey pretty easily, and found the little Community at Sealan in good health, under the temporary charge of Mr. Andrew Carruthers. The weather had been favourable, but the Bishop's weakness had increased since his arrival. "Be assured, I am in very good spirits, and shall endeavour, with God's help, to be so, striving to answer your intentions, and to do my duty, as far as lies in my power."—[To B. Hay, July 29; Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis.] The Duke of Gordon had paid a visit to the Seminary, the week before, and had expressed his satisfaction with the condition of the Place. Bishop Geddes seized the oppor-

tunity of saying that he hoped his Grace would give them a long lease, as a good deal of money had been laid out on the Place. To which the Duke replied, that they should not differ. The Boys lately arrived from Douay were giving trouble. They were displeased with the beds, the food, and the untidiness of their companions ; neither did they like to be so much employed in Farm-work. The Bishop's Amanuensis, Mr. A. Carruthers, took the liberty of adding a Postscript, on his own account, in which he lodged various complaints against the Housekeeper, Annie Gerard, under whose tutorage, he was surprised to find himself. He had also been made the subject of censorious conferences between her and some of the Scholars, and even some of the Maids ; and this, in matters seemingly out of her sphere, and in which he flattered himself, he should not have had a shadow of apprehension from the eye of an enlightened Superior. "Is it proper," he indignantly demanded, in a precocious tone of domineering, "that there should be any Female power in a place of this kind?" This young man, at once an Usher and a Student, and still too young to be Ordained, had shortly before repeated an idle rumour to the discredit of a valuable Missionary, and had further informed Bishop Hay, from his own observations in that Mission, that a spirit of indifference to Religious duties had crept into many families, which urgently called for the Bishop's interference. The whole charge thus preferred, soon resolved itself into the idlest second-hand gossip.

Bishop Douglas communicated the important information that the Court of Rome had applied to him to obtain the protection of Britain for the States of the Church, then threatened by France ; his application had been successful, and Lord Hood's Fleet was to protect the Court. It seemed that now was the time to insist on getting National Superiors into the British Colleges. If necessary, Bishop Douglas would engage Lord Grenville to support the measure. The English Bishops had lately issued a Pastoral Letter, in which, among other topics, they had censured Dr. A. Geddes' Translation of the Bible. He had retorted in an impudent Letter, which drew from them a threat of Suspension, unless he would submit to the Injunctions of the

Pastoral before a certain day. Without waiting for the day, Dr. Geddes had positively declined their authority.—[B. Douglas to B. Hay, July 3.] Thus, by resorting to the harshness of extreme measures, the English Bishops drove into open rebellion, a man of genius, whom the accident of residence had placed in their power. Singularly enough, the Pastoral Letter in question, which had been submitted to the Scottish Bishops for their opinion, was pronounced by them to be poor in style, and deficient in fulness.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, and *vice versa*, April 1 and 5, 1793.]

The new Roman Agent had by this time returned from bidding his friends farewell ; and Bishop Hay was furnishing him with numerous Letters to "Padrones" in Rome, recommending him personally, and his Mission on behalf of the Scotch College, to their notice and assistance. Among these, he addressed Antonelli and Albani, Caraffa-Trajetto, and Borgia, now a Cardinal.—[Aug. 3 and 6.] The Bishop also, in a more particular manner, solicited the countenance of the Cardinal Duke of York. "The great condescension which Y. R. H. showed me, when I had the honour of waiting upon you, in the year 1782, in desiring me, if any affairs relating to our Missions required it, to write to Y. R. H., at least tanquam episcopus ad episcopum. This expression of your goodness, which I never can forget, encourages me on this occasion to recommend the bearer, Mr. Macpherson, in a particular manner, to your protection." The Bishop further petitioned H. R. H., to get the pension from the Dataria, enjoyed by the last two Agents, continued to their successor. Mr. Macpherson left Edinburgh in the Royal Charlotte, Aug. 7th.

The Romans were anxiously expecting the arrival of the English fleet on their coast. The Spaniards were cruising in considerable force, between Genoa and Corsica, to intercept the landing of the French troops on the Island. General Paoli was in arms, at the head of a considerable force ; he had already declared his independence, and was understood to be waiting the arrival of the British fleet before making himself master of the whole Island.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, July 31. Quoting Mr. Smelt.]

Bishop Geddes communicated with his Friend in Edinburgh, on a report which had become

current, that the Boys at Scalán were employed for a great part of Spring, Summer and Autumn, in the labour of Husbandry, and forgot what they had learnt, in less time than they had taken to acquire it. His weakness continued to increase, and at night he suffered from pain in the left side of his head, and in his ear, which he thought to be rheumatic. He continued to take Valerian regularly, but with no perceptible effect? What would Bishop Hay think of his trying the Cod-oil? But, indeed, in his case, he had little confidence in Medicine. Mr. A. Carruthers, was his Surgeon, his Valet-de-Chambre and Amanuensis, treating him with great kindness. It pained the Bishop to take up the Student's time so much, but there was no one else in the House, who could take his place. "I lay my account with having something to suffer. You will certainly pray for me, that I may make a good use of my situation."—[To B. Hay, August 6. Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis.]

The destination of the Douay Boys was settled by Bishop Hay, after a full discussion of the matter with his Coadjutor and with Mr. Macpherson. The sooner they left Scalán, the better; only, opportunities of sending them abroad with safety, were not easy to find, in the state of the Continent. Sandy Badenoch, being a sickly Boy, must not go abroad, but must go home to his parents, till he was stronger. As for the proposal that one of the Boys should be sent to Edinburgh, to live with Bishop Hay, he would willingly do all he could for the common good, however inconvenient and expensive he might find it. All were agreed, however, that the Boy chosen for Edinburgh should be a lad of solid piety, and who could be depended on. It would be impossible for the Bishop always to have him under his own eye; the Boy must be a good deal left to himself; he could not be always confined within doors. Business, as well as relaxation and exercise would often take him out; and as the Capital abounded with dangers to young people, if the Lad were of an unsteady disposition, he would run a great risk of being ruined, without the Bishop's being able to prevent it. These considerations pointed out Andrew Scott, as the fittest for Edinburgh, where, too, he could have the benefit of sea-bathing for his health, and which was still more

to the purpose, with his peculiar complaints, where he could drink the water of St. Bernard's Well. The sooner he came, the better; a cordial welcome awaited him. With these two exceptions, the rest of the Boys must go to Spain. They should take the Mission Oath, before putting the public Fund to the expense of their journey.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, August 9.]

The Bishop further enters at some length into the little plan that he had formed with regard to Scalán. Mr. A. Carruthers had several times expressed his fears, if left alone there, during the Bishop's absence, that "he was in no wise cut out for a farm." Bishop Hay had assured him that Bishop Geddes would take a superintendence; that as to the food and other matters in the Housekeeper's department, everything was settled according to a regular plan, and the established practice, which Annie would attend to, without giving Mr. Carruthers any concern, who was to have the same indulgence as to food, as when Bishop Hay resided at the Seminary. As to the Farm, it was soon to be all turned into grass; and John Williamson would take nearly all the trouble off Mr. Carruthers' hands, only now and then showing him what was going on. Indeed, this was all that Bishop Hay himself had done with the Farm, ever since this worthy man had come to it. He had consulted with John about what had to be done; readily yielding to John's reasons when they appeared to be just; and John as readily acknowledging the strength of the Bishop's reasons, when they were well founded. Thus, it seemed to the Bishop that Mr. Carruthers need not fear any great difficulty on that point. As for the studies of the Seminary, it had been agreed to adopt a Douay plan, and give some of the older Boys charge of the younger, to teach and hear them their lessons, and thus relieve Mr. Carruthers of part of the drudgery. It mortified the Bishop to find that his Coadjutor's increasing weakness, the discontent of the Supernumeraries from Douay, and John Williamson's illness were likely to frustrate these little plans.

He concluded with some directions for the young Prefect, and some animadversions on his unbecoming Postscript. To his inquiry about "Female power in a place of that kind," the Bishop replied that in every place where a

Woman was Head-Servant, with other Women under her, she must have authority over them, and in the management of things committed to her charge, of course under the inspection and control of the Superiors of the Place, and only within the sphere of her own charge. Mr Carruthers' question led the Bishop to suppose that there had been some misunderstanding with the Housekeeper ; but he hoped that Bishop Geddes' accustomed prudence would put all to rights, and his gentle manner and good advice keep it so. "With my earnest prayers that peace, health and contentment, may reign in your family."

He was now engaged in bringing out a new Edition of *The Sincere Christian*, besides revising some of his Studies in the Canon Law.

The last Letters of the Bishops to each other had crossed. Bishop Hay, therefore,—[Aug. 18]—had to resume the subject of Scalan, on receipt of his Coadjutor's Letter of August 6th. He was not surprised at the report of the Boys being much employed in Farm-work, although he felt himself under no obligation to its authors. It was certainly much exaggerated, at least as far as he knew ; for as to what was done in his absence he did not know. In bringing Scalan to a state of serviceableness to the Mission, many things had to be done which cost extraordinary labour for a time, but which would entirely cease when the whole of the ground was taken in. To have hired people for this additional labour would have been beyond his means, and at their vacant hours, or on a play-day, now and then, the Boys could do what was wanted as well as any one. In former times the Boys at Scalan were often employed in similar labours, and for months together without a lesson ; and yet, no such reports had been spread then. He finished his Letter next day, (Monday.) That morning, he had read to Dr. Spens, his invalid Friend's account of his health. The Doctor did not approve of the Cod-oil ; it was a harsh, disagreeable drug, and was apt to clog the stomach. Though Dr. Thomas [Spens] saw it often used in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, he did not often see it succeed. He much preferred the application of blisters to the Invalid's head. Bishop Geddes must therefore begin with one about four inches broad, and as long as would reach from the root of the hair, in the middle of

the forehead to the hollow of the neck. It must be kept on for twenty-four hours ; a blister never rises on the head, but the water "sipes" through. When it is taken off, a kail [cabbage] blade must be applied to the wound, for a day or two. Another blister must then be put on one side of the head, above the ear, and be treated in the same way ; then a third, on the other side, and so on, beginning again as with the first. If the Invalid derived any benefit from this treatment, he must continue the rotation for some time. His friend added some directions about preparing the blisters. Mr. Carruthers had some plaster and some flies ; these must be spread firmly on the plaster, and plenty of them. More could be obtained from Aberdeen, if necessary.

How many hours of suffering, how many wakeful and weary nights are implied in those terrible lines ! It is all over now and forgotten, and one may stand beside the resting-place of the dust once so cruelly tortured, and give thanks that its Purgatory was permitted here.

Before the Invalid could have received this decision of the Doctors, he wrote again to his Friend in Edinburgh,—[August 20. Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis]—pressing the removal of the Douay Boys, as the School-room was quite unfit for their studies in Philosophy and Theology. He suggested a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy, as seasonable, in present circumstances. Perhaps it might be well to write it in Latin. "Many are the fancies that now go through my imagination, many the projects which I can neither bring to practice, nor even commit to writing. Yet I see that it is very necessary to have time for thinking as well as for acting ; and for many years past I have had too little time for meditation. Enough for the present." His health was not sensibly worse ; his head was better ; if his weakness increased, it was but slowly. His Friend might depend on his endeavouring to be contented, and to have Christian courage, in which God would help him, in consequence of the good prayers of Bishop Hay, and his other friends. "What do you say of the Cod-oil ? what of my applying a blistering plaster to my head ? I do not like a wig."

Mr. Macpherson spent a week in London, on his way to Rome. He despatched a farewell Letter to Bishop Geddes—[Aug. 14]—two days

before resuming his journey by Dover and Ostend. Bishop Hay and he had parted on exceedingly good terms ; indeed he had found the Bishop very candid and friendly. They had often conversed together about Bishop Geddes, after he had left Edinburgh ; and Mr. Macpherson had observed with pleasure the esteem and affection which the Bishop always expressed with much warmth, for his Coadjutor, whose distressing illness Bishop Hay felt more acutely than the Invalid himself. In Mr. Macpherson's candid opinion, Bishop Hay stood more in need of comfort from his Coadjutor, than his Coadjutor did from him. The Agent had exhausted argument in the attempt to dissuade the Bishop from long retaining the Office of Procurator, and to recommend Mr. Charles Maxwell as a substitute. His representations had produced little effect.

Since his coming to London, Mr. Macpherson had received much civility and kindness from Bishop Douglas ; "but ah ! my friend, he has not the parts which your acquaintance makes me look for in the Episcopal character. Yet I love the man because his heart is good, and because he loves you." They had dined together two days ago, in company with two hundred members and benefactors of a Charitable Institution ; the healths of Bishop Hay and of Bishop Geddes were drunk, nor was the "Land of Cakes" forgotten. Partly through mismanagement, Bishop Douglas was in great trouble with some of his Clergy and Laity, in comparison with whom the most refractory subjects in Scotland were as lambs. Mr. Macpherson's experience among the English Clergy, had not given him a high idea of their zeal, their learning, or their love of labour.—[Mr. Macpherson to B. Hay, Aug. 15.]

Mr. George Chalmers had responded to Bishop Geddes' Letter of Introduction, and given the Agent a hearty welcome ; who in return, described him as a man of Letters, and a Gentleman in every sense of the word. He had entered warmly into the plan for obtaining National Superiors for the Colleges in Rome, offering to recommend it to Mr. Dundas, and through him to Lord Grenville. The amiable Author of *Caledonia* was a true friend to the Scottish Catholics, and his intimacy with many leading Statesmen gave him great influence.

Bishop Douglas, strange to say, when consulted on the subject of National Superiors, manifested extreme jealousy of Bishop Hay, or of any one else meddling with it. The good Bishop of Rhodez was in London, and was soon to visit Scotland. He contributed to the Agent's collection of Letters of Introduction, a warm recommendation to Cardinal Bernis.

Mr. Alexander Paterson, the new Missionary in Glenlivat, laid before Bishop Hay a full account of the discontent lately manifested by the Douay Boys at Scalan. The change, indeed, in their food and their studies was very great ; but had Bishop Hay remained among them, there could be no doubt that it would have passed off without complaint. The whole mischief must be attributed to the Youth in whose charge they had been left. "A young man, in entering on a new Charge, ought to be extremely cautious and circumspect in showing his authority. This precaution, I believe, Mr. Carruthers was not careful enough to take. He had to deal with his former companions, his own schoolfellow, his most intimate friends ; too overbearing a disposition with regard to some, gained him the disaffection of all ; one thing brought on another, and Scalan became quite disgusting. To be sure, they ought to have behaved otherwise than they did ; but methods must be sometimes contrived to make them do from inclination what they are obliged to do from duty. I know Mr. Carruthers to be a lad of solid piety, much good sense, and not ordinary abilities, but *in other things I commend him, in this I do not commend him.*"

Then, as to the Farm at Scalan ; the excellent servant, John Williamson, was resolved to leave it entirely. Mr. Paterson asked him his reason ; and he replied that Mr. Carruthers had found fault with his work, and appeared indifferent to his going back after his illness, as another man had been engaged, whom, however, Mr. Carruthers had since turned off without paying his wages, because he had been absent for a day or two, on his own Farm. In short, if Mr. Carruthers went on in that way, not a lad in the country would come near Scalan. Mr. Paterson, esteeming John Williamson as a plain, honest, and good servant, had told him that in Bishop Hay's absence, he ought to think it his duty to disregard every consideration but the

Bishop's interest. He seemed very sensible of the Bishop's kindness to him, and there was no one in the world whom he would like better to serve, but he could not, and would not be "bullyragged," as he expressed it, while he was able to earn his bread more peaceably and advantageously elsewhere. Mr. Paterson had advised him to consult Bishop Geddes in confidence. Lastly, on account of Mr. Carruthers' treatment of her, the worthy Housekeeper, Annie Gerard, was thinking of leaving Scalac, at Martinmas. Mr. Paterson had urged her to write first to Bishop Hay, before making any rash resolution; this, however, she could not be prevailed on to do. She feared to speak to Bishop Geddes, lest he might think himself the cause of her leaving. A line from Bishop Hay to her might be of great service. Mr. Paterson concludes by proposing at once to supersede Mr. Carruthers, and to put Mr. James Paterson in his place. James, indeed, was only a Student, but he possessed a happy art of teaching others, he was at once feared and loved by the younger Boys under his care, as Mr. Paterson could testify from his former knowledge of him.

Mr. Macpherson had by this time reached Bruges, whence he wrote to the Invalid at Scalac, with additional notes of his Journey.—[Aug. 24.] He had seen Dr. A. Geddes in London; and pronounced him unlike any one he had ever seen in his life. The Doctor was very angry with his cousin the Bishop, and threatened to write him a frightful Letter. The Agent was astonished at the attention paid to the French Emigrant Clergy in London, amounting in number to about 1500. He had observed the same thing at Dover, where, if one might judge from the people one met in the streets, one should imagine the Town to be half full of French Priests. Every one paid them the greatest respect, while at Bruges, where he was waiting, they could hardly appear in the streets without being hissed. "Generous Britain! Heaven must reward such eminent charity." The French Clergy passed and repassed between Dover and Ostend, without paying a farthing. The British Government paid their fare, and the English passengers, if there were any, for their food. If there were none, the honest tars would say, D — n their eyes, would they allow

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a poor French Priest to pay for a meal or two.

Mr. Macpherson had had a long and rough Passage of 63 hours from Dover to Ostend—[Aug. 20]—the evening of his landing, he reached Bruges, by the Canal, in Mr. Oliver's Company. Four Scotch Boys from Douay had found an asylum in the Convent of English Nuns which Mr. Oliver served. On the 16th of August they had left Douay with Mr. Farquharson; and rested for the night at a Village near their Country-house. Next day they heard that the English Benedictines at Douay were imprisoned; and that active search was making for every British subject. Mr. Farquharson hired a guide for 100 francs to conduct the Boys to a place of safety, himself accompanying them till within a few leagues of the Frontier. He then turned back towards Douay, in hopes of meeting some of the persons whom he had intrusted with such of the moveable belonging to the College as he had been able to smuggle out of the House. The Boys reached Bruges without running any great risk; and the Principal was expected every hour to follow them. It was understood that he was in less danger than any one else, if he happened to be taken prisoner, he was so universally popular. The bulk of the French were still fond of the English, but the Revolutionary demons were doing all in their power to exasperate them against British subjects.

Bishop Hay took alarm at an expression in his Coadjutor's last Letter, which seemed to imply that he was attempting to study. With his accustomed force, the Bishop denounced the idea of such a thing, in the circumstances of his Friend's health.—[Aug. 26.]

"Aug. 26, 1793.

. . . . "Your reflections about *thinking* give me no small concern. Your physicians wished you to be in a country-place, where you should have nothing to do that could require attentive application of the mind, upon which they seem to ground their best hopes of your recovery, at least, in some degree. With this view I considered Scalac as the properest place you could be in, where you would be under no necessity of applying to anything that could require any serious thought, and have nothing to do but to take such moderate exercise as you found convenient, and amuse your mind with any easy reading which required little application, and

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overseeing or hearing the boys' lesson, which I considered as a diversion to you rather than a study. But, instead of that, to hear of nothing but rumaging through old papers, putting them in order, and taking extracts out of them, &c., many projects passing through your imagination, necessity of having time for thinking, &c., what is to be the consequence of all this, but to ruin your health entirely, and hasten on your own death? Is it possible, my dear Sir, that you should be so far blinded by your own inclinations as to think that it is the will of God you should act in direct opposition to the views of your physicians and to my wishes, in a matter which so nearly concerns me and the whole Mission? I therefore beg and beseech you, for God's sake, to lay aside all these projects, to lock up all your old papers, till such time as we see your health in a state of melioration fit for examining them; and to follow the plan I have always had in view for you. There you will be doing essential good to Religion, to the service of God and the good of the Mission, by instilling proper sentiments into these poor children, and bringing them up in the fear of God, and necessary learning. This will cost you no application that can hurt you, as the things you will have to treat with them will require no study from you. But if you still go on your own way, I beg it as a favour never to mention your doing so to me, which will only serve to distress me." . . .

The gentle Invalid replied with his usually unruffled composure, and in a tone of refined deference to the wishes of his Friend.—[Sept. 2. Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis.] "The projects I mentioned, were not, I assure you, the result of attentive thoughts, but the reveries of a mind more at ease than it had usually been, for some time past, though not perhaps so much so, as it would need for my health. When I lie awake in my bed, or loll in my chair, I must think on something; and this draws my attention from my bodily uneasiness; now, on what can I think better than on God, and what tends to His glory, and my own spiritual good, on the state of Religion in this Country; on the place I am in; and the like? Hence arise the projects I mentioned, which, I am confident, are nowise hurtful to soul or body. The old Papers have been here several weeks, but the trunk in which they are, has not as yet been opened. I would [should] certainly be much to blame, if I followed my own inclinations to the risk of my health, unless where duty and inclination conspire. I think I have sometimes contradicted my inclinations, to the danger of my health, when I

thought duty required it; and that, even, when I was supposed to be flouting my inclinations; and I may do so again. But enough on this subject; I know your intentions, and shall truly endeavour to comply with them to the utmost of my power." The rumour about the Farm-work imposed on the Boys at Scalan was nothing new. A similar complaint had long ago reached Bishop Geddes at Valladolid. Since then, the Boys had, from peculiar circumstances, been more than ever engaged in Field-labour, to the detriment of their Studies. However, Bishop Geddes and Mr. Carruthers would do the best they could for the Boys, in the meantime, till they could give Bishop Hay their candid opinion on the whole question. The Invalid's health was not sensibly either better or worse. Three weeks of rainy weather had been rather against him. He would at once set about applying the blistering plasters to his head; in this, he had "some little confidence," with God's blessing. He could not help being troublesome to Mr. Carruthers, who was his only assistant, but who did all cheerfully. The Douay Boys were just setting off.

Mr. A. Carruthers laid before Bishop Hay a justification of his conduct.—[Sept. 3.] It consisted chiefly in criminizing the whole Establishment; Boys and Servants were all shown up in their turn, and in a strange and pompous jargon of words, singularly out of harmony with his position. To use Mr. Paterson's strong expression, Scalan had become so "disgustful" in consequence of Mr. Carruthers' arrogance, that some of the Douay Boys had been thinking of abandoning their Studies altogether. He mentioned this fact to Bishop Hay, but he did not mention the cause of it. He complained of the "overweening imperiousness and assuming behaviour of domestics;" and of "the disagreeable necessity of being the silent witness of mismanagement, misbehaviour, and discontent." He could scarcely "intimate to the servants the smallest order without feeling his heart palpitate with fear of thwarting their humour, or of becoming the object of their private grudges or murmurs." He could "see discontent and peevishness painted in every feature, and every trifling domestic circumstance, such as not opening my door when inconvenient, nay, even the very looks of my face, explored

and sent out as a subject of public loquacity. . . . The smallest peculiarities of my conduct spitefully traduced and misrepresented, as my Brothers had been, in this vilest of Countries." Bishop Hay, had seemed, in his Letter to Bishop Geddes, to suppose that *food* had been a subject of dispute with the Housekeeper. The injured Youth replied that he had never encroached on the Kitchen department; that he would disdain for himself to stoop to so mean a subject of altercation. "I was stunned with hearing a Female Servant express herself in the most disrespectful manner of certain Churchmen, come here on business, because they had not found it convenient to Say Mass. I was obliged, however, to stifle my feelings in silent indignation." He concluded by inquiring if he was to have any money allowed him. "We are in a peaceable enough situation, which indeed, was scarce ever outwardly otherwise." His treatment of the Farm-Servant he neither explains nor palliates.

The Roman Agent, on reaching Ratisbon, sent Bishop Geddes a lively account of his Journey. —[Sept. 26.] He had taken a month to travel from Bruges. Mrs. More, and the English Nuns there, were much concerned at Bishop Geddes' illness. He had been detained some days, by ill health, at Louvain, a miserably dirty Hole, where nothing was to be seen but Colleges, Convents, and Friars, in all the colours of the rainbow. In their University they defended Propositions which in Scotland would be considered by all Catholics as the rankest Heresy. The Emperor Joseph had opened the door, the French had helped them on; for Mr. Macpherson was sorry to observe that although the French were detested in all the Countries through which he had travelled, a very considerable part of the French Religious Creed was well rooted there. There were no advocates of those Doctrines more zealous than the Friars. The Secular gentlemen also easily imbibed them. The greater part of the Secular Clergy, and all the Ex-Jesuits opposed the prevailing Maxims. Even the two Scottish Convents in Bavaria maintained very dangerous Principles, but in their case, ignorance was the chief cause of it. One of the Scottish Monks had seriously assured him that St. Augustine had written all his Works in Greek; another, a few

minutes afterwards, that in all the Saint's Writings, the Manichean Heresy was clear, and that he very certainly never knew a word of Greek. "In fine, Lord preserve me from them." They spoke only of gambling, of hunting, and of a kind of Politics; and their time was spent idly and unprofitably. The Agent would be sorry to hear of one of them in the Missions. He acknowledged, however, that they had entertained him kindly in both of the Monasteries. At Liege, he had been hospitably lodged for some days in the English Academy, where the good old maxims were still maintained, to the exclusion of all novelties in Religion. From Cologne he had ascended the Rhine to Mentz, passing through delightful scenery. The day after the date of his Letter, he was to leave Ratisbon for Munich.

After persevering for eighteen days in the constant use of the blistering plaisters, Bishop Geddes could only report—[To B. Hay, Sept. 30; Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis]—that his weakness was increasing more rapidly than ever before, without his deriving any benefit in other ways. He had therefore interrupted the rotation of blisters, until he could have Bishop Hay's opinion. His left arm was so stiff, that he could not raise it to his head; the fingers of his right hand could hardly hold a handkerchief or a spoon. His limbs were too feeble to bear the weight of his body. He had never yet fallen to the ground, but he should have done so had not Mr. Carruthers caught hold of him, or had he not made use of the wall, or of some other support. He could not dress without assistance. His Breviary cost him usually three hours. Sometimes it took him five minutes to get a book into his hands. He had managed, however, to Say Mass on Sundays and holidays, till Michaelmas day, when, after Vespers, and addressing a few words to the people, he felt his limbs so weak, and his left arm so stiff, as to forbid him to proceed. He had been, therefore, obliged to send the people to the public Chapel. As his Friend might easily suppose, this incident had affected him a good deal. His appetite was still pretty good, and he slept well enough, when he could get into a good posture. On a good day he was able to walk out for half-an-hour; his only uneasiness then was in turning. He could say he was as cheerful as was possible

in his circumstances, and perhaps even more so; endeavouring, with God's assistance, to be resigned and patient, knowing that those trials were sent for his good. His only regret was that he could be of so little use in helping his Friend, who had so much need of it. But it was almost time for Breakfast, before he was dressed and his Prayers were said. In the forenoon, besides Reciting the Little Hours, Meditating for a short time, Reading some Spiritual Book, and taking a short walk, he could give only an hour to the Boys, to hear them their lessons; and during that time he was often very uneasy. In the afternoon, he rested a while after Dinner, said Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, and took another walk. All this left him little more than another hour for the Boys. Mr. Carruthers had therefore, to prepare their lessons and themes, and examine them; to look after them at their play, their meals, and their studies; and assist them in their Devotions; occupations which allowed him little enough time for his own studies. But it was impossible for Bishop Geddes to do more for him beyond advising him, and encouraging the Boys. The Invalid anticipated a considerable aggravation of his illness with the arrival of Winter weather. In that case he would require a strong man, to help him to move, who might reside in the place as a journeyman tailor, or shoemaker. John Williamson and Annie, had consented to remain; and harmony was now perfectly restored. As Mr. Carruthers was his Amanuensis, he must employ another Hand to tell Bishop Hay how much he was indebted to "Mr. Andrew." "How does your own health stand out? I really do believe you stand as much in need of pity as I do; but God will support you. I hope I need not assure you that I really do look upon you as my best Friend upon earth; and in return, I would wish to be yours to the very utmost of my abilities, as I am conscious to myself to have endeavoured all along. It is no doubt what we owe to one another on many accounts. We may both be ignorant of circumstances, and not attend to some of them, but this we must excuse."

The same day,—[Sept 30]—Bishop Hay wrote to inform his Coadjutor that the last of the Douay Boys had reached Edinburgh in safety. Those of the earlier arrival, who were destined

for Spain, had sailed some little time before. A box lately sent from Rome, addressed to Bishop Geddes, contained a large parcel of Church Music for a full Choir; also, Boscovich's *Elementa Matheskos*, in sheets; *Selecta* for Scalau, in sheets; a Copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with annotations, and of Cicero's Letters; together with Beads and Medals for Bishop Hay. There was a vacancy at Scalau, and Mr. Mathison had a good Boy in view for it; would it be possible to take him without giving Bishop Geddes and "Mr. Andrew" too much to do, which was against Bishop Hay's wish? Regarding the employment of the Scalau Boys in manual labour, he had one observation to make. When he went there, there were three Boys in the same class, to wit, Sandy Badenoch, Willie Smith, and Willie Wallace. The year after, Smith was sent to Douay, and Wallace, who followed him six months afterwards, was put into the same class with him at Douay. Nearly eighteen months after Wallace, Badenoch also was sent there, and was not only put into the same class with his former Scalau companions, but was thought to do better than either of them. This had escaped the Bishop's memory, till the Boys themselves had put him in mind of it, and it showed pretty clearly that if the Boys at Scalau had more "avocations" from their studies than were considered right by some persons, their time of study had not been lost. For his own part, the Bishop would be well pleased if the Boys continued to make the same progress, and as there were at least six or seven months in the year, in which they could do nothing out of doors, to take them from their studies, he did not see that eight or ten days "avocations" now and then, in Summer, could do them much harm. He mentioned this to show how unjust were the reflections made on the subject by some people.

The Bishop had also written to "Mr. Andrew," plainly telling him his mind as to the discontent at Scalau. It was not easy to make this young man sensible of his error—[To B. Hay, Oct. 7.] The Bishop had accused his "harshness and severity," as the cause of the misconduct of some at the Seminary, and of the discontent of every one. Mr. Carruthers defended himself ingeniously, but in the disagreeably affected and pompous style, then habitual

to him. The Bishop had further condemned his giving his opinion so freely, about the servants. He therefore prudently promised to do better for the future ; but his tone is full of consequence, as if he were waiving a right for the public good. This point, and others, he discussed with the Bishop, quite with the air of a man who was debating with an equal, and who was, in fact, the aggrieved and nobly forgiving opponent of the Bishop, and of every one at Sealan. A Postscript to his Letter, regarding Bishop Geddes' health is more interesting. The Bishop grew sensibly weaker. It cost him much uneasiness to hear the Boys their lessons, and he attempted more than he was able for, thinking it was Bishop Hay's wish that he should do what he could for the Boys. Mr. Carruthers assured Bishop Hay, that though it should cost him his sleep, he would do all in his power to relieve the Invalid from every exertion. The Bishop had been unable to Say Mass the previous Sunday. Harvest in the Braes was not yet "third way done."

The Invalid at Sealan, in his next Letter to his Friend at Edinburgh—[Oct. 11, Mr. A. Paterson, *Amantensis*]—had to report a daily failing of his powers. His voice grew feebler, his hands more powerless ; and it was with difficulty that he could find a tolerably easy posture, either sitting or lying. In a short time he should be unable to rise from his chair, or from bed without help. It was necessary that Bishop Hay should at once determine whether he could prudently remain all Winter at Sealan. He would only suggest with perfect candour what occurred to him on the subject. He had come cheerfully to the Seminary, as his Friend had wished it, and he had hoped to be of some use, and at the same time, enjoy complete retirement from Company. Even now he should leave it with regret. But on the other hand, he could render the place little service, as he was, and he might occasion considerable embarrassment to it. He could no longer Celebrate Mass ; he could scarcely sit to Hear a Confession or even a lesson ; he must give a great deal of additional trouble to Mr. Andrew, who attended him, much to his satisfaction. But he, in fact, required a person of a nursing disposition, who could contrive and advise little conveniences

for him ; and though he now had little confidence in Medicine, he should like to be near a Physician. His Nephew, Mr. John Gordon, at Aberdeen, was such a person, as he should wish to live with ; but still, he had no desire to be humoured unreasonably ; he really wished to do the Will of God, to suffer patiently with the Divine assistance, and to prepare quietly for death. "Let me know, then," he adds, "what you really think would be best, and I shall agree to it cheerfully, as I ought to be the first to give an example of obedience, and of a desire to do all the good I can." His younger Nephew, Charles, had lately come to Sealan, and was then on a visit to his friends in "the Low Country." Mr. Andrew, to do him justice, seemed to be very willing, as well as capable to do his duty, and give Bishop Hay satisfaction. The little differences with the servants appeared to Bishop Geddes to be at an end. He was sure that his Friend remembered him in his good Prayers, for his need of them was great.

To Mr. Maepherson, Bishop Hay confessed that he saw not the least ground to hope that his Coadjutor would ever recover.—[Oct. 11.] Dr. Spens was not surprised when the Bishop told him of the failure of the blisters. The Bishop's own health was such as he had no reason to complain of. The Accounts had been a troublesome business to him ; but he hoped to simplify them considerably, and make them easier than ever for those that should come after him. A new augmentation of Bank Stock was certain to be applied for in the next Session of Parliament ; the Capital would then be raised to a Million. This would put the Bishop "to his shifts, to find what was necessary." Mr. Maepherson's opinion of Ratisbon was Bishop Hay's own ; resting both on what he knew of it from report, as well as on what he had himself heard and seen there. This made him the more desirous to get the Scotch Monastery converted into a College ; an excellent ground to go upon being the impossibility of supplying the Monastery with subjects. The case was much stronger now, that the National Colleges in France were lost ; it would be a climax to the ruin of Religion in that Country, if Ratisbon and Wirtzburgh were lost to Scotland, for want of subjects. The Bishop's concluding discussion of an intricate affair

of Accounts, exhibits him as a practised Adept in the art of Book-keeping.

While Bishop Geddes was dictating the last sad report of his health, Bishop Hay was writing to encourage him.—[Oct. 11.] “Your situation, my dear Sir, gives me no small concern, and gives me but a very distressing prospect on different accounts; but we must adore, and submit to the decisions of Almighty God, whose all-wise Providence only knows what is best for us, and whose Infinite Goodness orders all for our greater good; in this, alone, we can find comfort, and in this alone we have to confide.” In consequence of the late alteration in his Friend’s health, the Bishop could not propose any plan, but left the arrangement of everything in his Friend’s hands, begging him not to fatigue himself with anything. It occasioned him particular regret that his Friend was not able to Say Mass; a great privation of comfort to the Invalid himself, and an inconvenience to the Family at Scal an, on Sundays and Holydays. He had, therefore, been thinking of sending Mr. James Sharp to the Seminary; “an agreeable and sweet-tempered lad,” who, in addition to Serving the Chapel, might help Mr. Carruthers in his studies, and relieve him from the charge of the very little Boys, so that he might be the sooner Promoted. This, indeed, would leave Bishop Hay alone, but with the help of Mr. Macdonald, the Highland Missionary, and of Andrew Scott, in temporal concerns, there would be no difficulty. What encouraged him the more to propose it, was that his own health continued not only good, but really to grow better and stronger, for which he had great reason to bless God, “who, as honest Mr. Guthry used to say, sits the back for the burden, and I hope will continue to do so, as He sees our needs.”

Regarding his Friend’s idea, that Scal an might not be a suitable place for him, if his weakness should increase, Bishop Hay remarked—“Believe me, my dear Sir, wherever you think you can be more to your own mind, your going there shall meet with my hearty concurrence.” What would his Friend think of his going to stay at Preshome, as Mr. Reid had wished him to do? “My only view, now, is to have you in the most agreeable way you can think of for yourself.” If his Friend wished to

change his residence, it ought to be done soon, before the weather broke, which might be before long. Only, let him give Bishop Hay, notice of what he resolved on, that the Bishop might make any necessary arrangements. As he was finishing his Letter, Dr. Spens called. This Physician and his son, and Dr. Gregory, were at a loss what to say of the Invalid’s case, but gave very little hopes of amendment. However, they sent the following prescription; twenty-five [grains] of Jesuit’s bark in powder; and five grains of Virginian snake-root, in powder; mix together, and take in wine and water, three times a day; a little rhubarb occasionally if required. Dr. Dougal, at Keith, would supply the ingredients.

His Friend’s Letter of the same date reached the Bishop, in course of Post; to which he replied,—[Oct. 19]—“Sorry am I, indeed, to find by yours of the 11th, that your distemper goes on increasing so rapidly, which, besides the loss of so dear a Friend, leaves but a gloomy prospect to me; but our good Lord, who best knows His own work, is All-Sufficient; and, I trust, in His Infinite Goodness, will support and direct me to do His Will, and please Him, which is the only thing I wish for in this world. May He, of His Infinite Mercy, be with you at all times, and guard and conduct you by His Holy Grace to a happy Eternity, if it be His blessed Will to take you away from us at this time, which there is too much appearance to fear will be the case. I was touched with a little grief to think, by what you write, that you should have had a thought that I would be in the most distant degree against your going to Aberdeen, or anywhere else, where you think you could be more at your ease; but I am happy that I had given you my mind at large, in my last, (under cover to Dr. Dougal,) on that subject, before yours came to my hand. No, my dear Sir, whatever can contribute to your ease and conveniency, shall meet with my hearty approbation; my only regret is that you had not mentioned your mind sooner, for, by what you write of your weak state, I wish you may be able to bear the journey to Aberdeen without hurt; however, if you be not already gone, I beg there may be no delay.” The Bishop recommended that all the books and papers, which his Friend might leave behind, should be put into a trunk, locked and

sealed up; "by this means, if it please God you recover, you will find them as you leave them; if not, they will come safe to my hands, who, I naturally suppose, you will think should have the first inspection of them. . . . The good wishes and prayers of your friends here, are not wanting, as you may well suppose; and I remain, with the most sincere regard, my honoured and very dear Sir, yours most affectionately in Dno. . . . P.S.—Please let me know on your arrival at Aberdeen, as I will endeavour, if possible, to see you there before the dead of winter come on."

The Invalid wrote once more from Sealan to Bishop Hay.—[Oct. 20. Mr. Carruthers, Amanuensis.] He was now so weak, that he could hardly stagger through the room, and must soon be wholly confined to bed. His Nephew at Aberdeen had cheerfully undertaken to receive him into his house, and make him comfortable. He had, accordingly, made immediate arrangements for his journey, taking it for granted that Bishop Hay would approve of it. "I am truly much concerned that I should become so soon useless to my country; but as you well observe, we must entirely submit to the will of God, who well knows what is best, and can easily raise up fitter instruments for the performance of His own work. For me, personally, this distemper is certainly one of the greatest blessings I could receive, as it gives such a fine opportunity of expiating my sins, through the Merits of Christ, and of preparing for death, if I be strengthened to bear my sufferings patiently, and make a good use of my circumstances. For this you will pray for me. Of myself, I am nothing but weakness." After discussing some little matters of business, such as debts due to him, and by him, he adds, "Happy am I, that your health is so good; long may that be the case! But I must earnestly beg of you, not to oppress yourself."

The Invalid now bade Adieu to Sealan, the Scene of his first decided success in life. His tact in the management of boys was first evinced there, and soon pointed him out as the fittest person to preside over the new College at Valladolid, which must ever be regarded as his monument; the task of obtaining it being accomplished solely by his great ability, united with the urbanity which made his career as popular as it was distinguished. His first successful

essay was made at Sealan, and from Sealan he passed to the sick-bed, where he closed his beautiful life, too soon, indeed, for the Mission, but not too soon for the ardent and daily aspirations of his pious soul after perfection. On Tuesday, Oct. 22, his Nephew, Mr. John Gordon and Mr. Charles Maxwell arrived at Tombreckachie, a neighbouring Farm-house, in an Aberdeen Post-Chaise, thence they walked to Sealan, the road not admitting the nearer approach of a spring-carriage. Next day, the Invalid was conveyed in a cart to the Post-Chaise; and the next day rested at Hardhaugh, close to Mortlach. It was not many miles from Sealan, but the roads were very bad. On Friday, as they jolted down Deveron-side, the pole of the chaise broke, within three miles of Huntly. No further injury was done; and the Invalid reached Mr. Maxwell's house at Gibston, in a cart. Here, Bishop Hay's Letter of the 29th instant was awaiting him, and seemed to him everything that he could have expected from the Bishop's friendship. Notwithstanding a pressing invitation to make Auchentoul his home, the Invalid adhered to his plan of going to Aberdeen, which he accomplished the following day—[Oct. 26]—and without suffering from the journey. He once more recorded his thankfulness to Providence, and his resolution to wait the Will of God, as patiently as he could.—[To B. Hay, Oct. 28. Mr. J. Gordon, Amanuensis.]

At the top of the first flight of stairs in the old humble Chapel-House at Aberdeen, the first door on the left hand conducts you into the little chamber where this pious Man now exchanged a life of active service for one of suffering and of inaction. It is lighted by two windows which look into a small Green, surrounded and overlooked by houses of the meanest kind. In the same poor Chamber where Bishop Grant had breathed his last, Bishop Geddes now lay down, expecting, as he said, that he might linger a good while, as no vital part of his body had been attacked with disease.—[To Mr. Macpherson, Oct. 31. Mr. J. Gordon, Amanuensis.] We shall hear much of him yet, as the patient tenant of that mean apartment. Till All-Saints' in the following year, he was able to go down-stairs occasionally, to Hear Mass, though with the greatest difficulty. After that time, he

Heard Mass in his room, generally once a-week, when he usually Communicated also; the Maid-Servant who Answered at Mass, spreading the Communion Cloth on his bed, and putting a Stole upon him.—[Mr. Charles Gordon.]

Before sickness had laid him low, Bishop Geddes was remarkable for his large, clear, bright eyes, and his beautiful head of white, silvery, hair. The venerable lady to whom the Author is indebted for this reminiscence of the Bishop, and who knew him well, saw him once again after the palsy had made a ruin of his physical powers. The large, bright eye was now dimmed by disease, a change which she remembered noticing with pain. In his earlier years on the Mission, the Bishop wore a grey wig. Afterwards he wore his own hair, which was naturally fair to whiteness, before age had silvered it,—brushed straight down, all round his head, even on his forehead, although it was shorter there. His face is said to have had a singular resemblance to John Wesley's. His manner, like the style of his Letters, was very meek and humble, almost, as it seemed, amounting to affectation, and imparting to him an air of insincerity which did not really belong to him. Experience of the world had taught the Bishop, the usefulness of conforming a little in things of trifling moment to the fashions of the day. Hence his dress was somewhat finer than his friend's; while Bishop Hay was contented with home-spun cloth, Bishop Geddes might be seen wearing Satin breeches and silk stockings. Some of the tough old Priests used to say that he would have a thousand years of Purgatory for his vanity.

An amusing Anecdote will illustrate the different inclinations of these two Friends in this respect. Bishop Hay was fond of purple-coloured clothes, though their material was usually of the coarsest. Once, however, instead of purple, he ordered by mistake, a suit of lilac, utterly unconscious that this colour was then a very fashionable one for Gentlemen's coats. A clever old lady, Mrs. Irvine, took occasion one day, when she met the Bishop in his new suit, to remonstrate with him on his frequent denunciation of fashionable attire in others, especially in ladies. "What the worse are you, yourself, my lord, for instance, though you are dressed to-day in the height of fashion?" He

asked her what she meant, and then discovered, for the first time, the secret of his mistake. The lilac coat never again saw the light.—[Mr. C. Gordon.]

To return to the Invalid. He had all through life intended to study till he was sixty years of age; then to write and publish books on Scottish Church History, for twenty years; after which he would entirely devote his mind to prepare for death. Much of the History of the Scottish Mission, he used to say, would die with him. Then he would add sweetly, that Divine Providence had upset all his plans.—[Mr. C. Gordon.]

Dr. George Gleig, Episcopalian Minister at Stirling, and, at that time, Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, had engaged the services of Bishop Geddes in completing the Work. The Bishop's first contribution to it was on the subject of the Pope. In writing to thank him for it, Dr. Gleig—[Nov. 10, addressed Right Rev. Mr. Geddes, Aberdeen]—in a friendly Letter, free from all pedantry and affectation, complimented the Bishop on the candour of his Paper, and on its interesting information, especially about the Election of the Pope, and asked for a reference to one or two Standard Catholic Works on the Papal Supremacy, for insertion at the end of the Article. He also suggested difficulties regarding the Deposing Power, not as he said for captiousness, but to remove plausible objections to what the contemplated Article on that subject would advance. Dr. Gleig further expressed his regret at the state of the Bishop's health, which he feared the dreadful news from France was not likely to promote; concluding by hoping that the Bishop would send him any suggestions about the Encyclopaedia; which might divert the Invalid's mind from his sufferings, and would be thankfully received by the Editor.

The Scottish Bishops were much relieved by the news of Mr. Farquharson's escape from Douay. Bishop Hay, indeed, had never lost hope that God would protect him.—[To B. Geddes, Oct. 26.] The late Rector of Douay managed to reach the Coast in safety, and so escaped to England. A kind welcome awaited him from Mr. George Chalmers in London.—[Same to same, Nov. 11.]

Mr. Macpherson, the new Agent reached Rome, October 20th.—[To B. Hay, Oct. 26.]

He at first lodged in the Corso, in the neighbourhood of San Carlo. In Albani's Secretary, he found an old acquaintance, his former Master in Humanities, a circumstance from which he augured well. Monsignor Erskine had lately gone to England, on a secret diplomatic Mission. The Agent suggested that now was the time to press for National Superiors. Bishop Hay would not let the opportunity slip, even though it should cost him a journey to London. He would do more in a week, than Bishop Douglas in a year. Rome was, of course, still in Villeggiatura, the Scotch Rector and his Boys at their Country-House. Albani, on his return to Rome for the Winter, received the new Agent very graciously, and assigned him Rooms in the Scotch College, where there were only five Boys. —[To B. Hay, Nov. 16.] The prospect of placing the College on a proper footing, appeared to the Agent to be still far distant. He had given Antonelli an Italian Translation of Bishop Hay's Pastoral Letter, and of the Oath; but the Cardinal was too busy to attend to them at that time.

Mr. Alexander Paterson, the Missionary in Glenlivat, at this time resided at Cean-na-Coille, beside his little Chapel, on the right bank of the Livat, about a mile above the modern Chapel at Tombae. It was arranged that he should receive into his House, Charles Gordon and James Paterson, two of the Boys who had escaped from Douay, and who were then pursuing their Studies in Philosophy. Mr. James Sharp was destined to supersede Mr. Carruthers at Sealan, and this young Man was associated with his former Douay companions, under Mr. Paterson's roof. It was no easy matter, however, to get him to leave Sealan. He still continued his habitually lofty tone of equality, in discussing his plans with his Superiors. It was, however, found absolutely necessary for peace and unity at Sealan, that he should be got out of it.—[Mr. A. Paterson to B. Hay, Nov. 17. For his three Boarders, including their clothing, Mr. P. received £40.] Mr. Paterson seems very soon to have had enough of him; and we find the Missionary proposing to exchange Mr. Carruthers for the Bishop's boarder, Andrew Scott, a youth who would be more easily accommodated and satisfied with his clothes, while he would be no less useful than Carruthers, in all respects.

VOL. I.

"Mr. Andrew's" favourite man-servant at Sealan was much disliked for his obstinacy and disobedience.

Bishop Geddes—[Nov. 29. One of the latest, if not the last, of his Autograph Papers]—now executed a Legal Confirmation of a former Disposition of his whole Property in favour of "Mr. George Hay, Bishop of Daulia." The Deed set forth that, as Bishop Geddes was then in bad health, and was in debt for considerable sums of money which he could not pay, because debts owing to himself had not been paid, Bishop Hay had, out of generosity and friendship, taken on himself the responsibility of his affairs, and had advanced a good deal of money to liquidate those debts, with the chance of never being reimbursed, if Bishop Geddes should die in a short time. The Deed therefore renewed and confirmed the former Disposition of Bishop Geddes' property to Bishop Hay, consisting of Shares of Stock in the Bank of Scotland, and of Bonds granted to him for sums of money; in all of which, however, he had no personal interest beyond that of a Trustee for their application. If anything remained for his own personal property after his death, Bishop Hay was authorised to employ it for any pious purposes he might please. The Date of this Deed marks the time of Bishop Hay's projected visit to his Friend at Aberdeen. Mr. Farquharson, who had arrived in Edinburgh and wished to see Bishop Geddes and his own relations and Friends in Strathdown, accompanied Bishop Hay on his Northern Journey, together with James Sharp, the new Superior of the Seminary. They found the Invalid at Aberdeen recovering from the prostrating effects of his late savage treatment, and no worse than when he left Edinburgh.—[B. Hay, to Mr. Macpherson, Dec. 17.] The Bishop and his two companions then proceeded to Sealan, where Mr. Sharp was installed in his new Office, and the disorders incident to "Mr. Andrew's" rule were put to rights. Mr. Farquharson went to visit his Friends; and the Bishop returned by Aberdeen to Edinburgh, December 7th.—[To B. Geddes, Dec. 10.]

Antonelli now communicated to the Scottish Bishops the congratulations of Propaganda on the repeal of the Penal Laws; thanking and praising the excellent Sovereign of Great Britain;

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and approving of the Bishop's Pastoral, as designed to express the gratitude of the Scottish Catholics, and to encourage them in Piety and Religion. The Cardinal, however, mingled the language of Compliment with information regarding the Scottish National College in Rome, which must have shown Bishop Hay, that his hopes of a National Superior were further off from completion than ever.—[Dec. 6 and 7.] The Scottish Agent, at the same date, reported that in a long interview with the Cardinal on the subject of the College, his Eminence had positively refused to listen to any proposal for a National Superior. The Agent, in a tone of prudence and foresight unusual in so young a man, suggested that it would be more politic not to press for a change just at that time, especially as the discipline of the College chanced to be pretty good. Antonelli, perhaps, to indemnify the Bishops for his rejection of their plans, declared that there was no Mission connected with Propaganda which gave the Congregation so much pleasure as the Scottish.

—[Mr. Macpherson to Bishop Hay, Dec. 7.]

Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, to whose exertions the Repeal of the Penal Laws was in great part owing, did not long survive to enjoy the benefit of his energetic appeal. Early in September he was thrown off his horse, and died insensible, on the third day after. He must be reported as a benefactor of the Mission. In that character Bishop Hay called on all the Clergy to Celebrate thrice for his Eternal rest. He died without a Will; his sister, Mrs. Maxwell of Ter-raughty, therefore, succeeded to his whole fortune. Her husband, though a Protestant, permitted Mr. Robertson and two of the emigrant French Clergy to remain at Munshes, undisturbed. The Scottish Mission had, this Autumn, to mourn the death of a benefactress —Mrs. Dorothy Riddell, aunt to the Proprietor of Kirkconnell,—who left the Mission in her Will, £1000.

It seems that Mr. Macpherson had rather better success with Albani than with the Cardinal of Propaganda. He was allowed some charge of the Youth in the Scotch College. As a first instalment of his long-cherished hopes, Bishop Hay welcomed even this trifling concession with gratitude. “How wonderful is the Providence of God, who, where we are most afraid, often

opens a door to make all things easy. Blessed be His Holy Name for ever.”—[To Mr. Macpherson, Dec. 17.] The Bishop's daily Prayers were offered for Mr. Macpherson's direction and assistance in instilling into the Boys a spirit of true piety, which alone would make things easy for him, and be of lasting use to them, and to the Cause which they were destined to serve. It would be still greater gain if the Agent could be appointed to be their Confessor. As it was, however, all difficulty about sending Boys to Rome was now at an end; if only some provision for their Viaticas, or Travelling Expenses, could be made, the College might easily be filled. The last Post brought the Bishop a very polite Letter from Cardinal Zelada, expressing an interest in the Mission, and a wish that the Bishop would send him an account of its condition; a task which he would willingly undertake as soon as the Christmas duties were over. The Bishop concluded with a complicated page of Mr. Smelt's Accounts.

Monsignor Erskine arrived at Edinburgh on Christmas Eve. On St. Stephen's Day, after Prayers, he waited on Bishop Hay and had an hour's conversation with him;—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, Dec. 27]—and again, the following day, he came again to breakfast with the Bishop. But as some other persons also were there, and the Roman Prelate had an engagement with his relative Lord Kelly, the Bishop was not able to have any private conversation with him, beyond hinting to him to keep an eye on the Scotch College. He seemed to have its interests much at heart; requested the Bishop to draw out a full statement of Mission affairs, and send it after him to London. He represented himself as standing in high favour with Albani, Zelada, and with his Master, and promised to use his influence in behalf of the Scotch Mission, and to reflect on the proposal to get the British Government to move in the affair of National Superiors. The account Monsignor Erskine gave of his Mission to England, was to the effect, that by particular favour, he had got leave of absence to visit his English and Scotch relations; and, as occasion offered, to testify the grateful sense which his master had of the favours lately bestowed on Catholics in Britain, and of the deliverance of the Italian States from the dangers which had lately threatened them. He had

been graciously received by some of the great people in London; and was now on his way to some of his Fifeshire relations. He promised however, to pay Bishop Hay another visit on his way back to London.

In accordance with the request of the Roman Prelate, Bishop Hay now begged his Coadjutor to dictate to his Nephew, Mr. Gordon, a rough draft of the principal subjects to be mentioned in the projected account of Mission affairs. The contribution from Aberdeen in aid of the French Emigrants, which had been entrusted to the Duchess of Buccleuch, had been very acceptable, and deservedly so.

Bishop Geddes soon responded to the wish of his Friend,—[To B. Hay, Dec. 31. Mr. T. Gordon, Amanuensis]—although sensible that nothing would occur to him that his Friend would not also think of. He proposed that the account of Mission affairs should be drawn up in the form of a Letter to the Prelate, beginning with a suitable acknowledgment of their confidence in him. They might assure him, and beg him to assure others, that none could be more sincerely attached to the Holy See than they were, both from a sense of duty, and also, out of the warmest gratitude for its paternal care. They might add their resolution always to instil similar sentiments into the people under their charge; and always to live, so as to do honour to Religion, and to prove themselves not unworthy of the favour and protection of the established Government. It might be added that the only exception to the perfect unanimity of the Catholic Clergy on all those points was the unhappy dispute with Principal Gordon, of which it might be well to give Mgr. Erskine a short outline. Bishop Hay, in his Report, might allude to the fact that public prejudice against them had much subsided, and that an ample field of usefulness had been thrown open to them, by the late Act of Parliament, but one which they must occupy with great caution and prudence, in the face of latent bigotry without, and of a latitudinarian spirit within their own Body. The Report might then proceed to inform Mgr. Erskine of the number, the position, and the circumstances of the Catholic Body. Their number might be stated at 25,000; but of that, Bishop Hay was the best judge. He might mention the Emigrations to America, and

the departure of three or four Missionaries to Canada. He might lay before the Roman Prelate a statement of the resources on which the Clergy depended for their maintenance; which, although lately augmented by a few Legacies, had on the whole been considerably diminished by the French Revolution. An attempt had been made to induce their people to contribute something to the support of their Clergy, and not altogether in vain. But in some parts of the Country, living was dear, and their people were very poor. The number of Missionaries, already too small for the demands made on their services, was likely to be further diminished by the recent loss of their French Seminaries at Paris and at Donay; although it was to be hoped that this loss would be only a temporary one. At that time, as Bishop Hay would no doubt inform Mgr. Erskine, the whole dependence of the Mission rested on the Scotch Colleges at Rome and at Valladolid. An application made by the Roman Prelate to the Spanish Ministry, might be of service to the Seminary at Valladolid; and his interference in behalf of the Roman College, would confer on the Mission a still more signal benefit. He might be made to understand that the Scotch Bishops desired above everything, to see that College placed under the Charge of Scotch Superiors, who would naturally know best what was necessary to be taught, in preparation for a Missionary Life in Scotland, and would most naturally take a deeper interest than foreigners could, in the success of the College. The Bishops could not desire a better Superior for it than their present Agent in Rome. It was much to be wished, also, that Mgr. Erskine could obtain for the College the means of supporting a dozen youths. His attention should also be called to the inefficient state of the Scotch Monasteries in Germany, with a view to his concurring in the endeavours of the Bishops to effect an alteration in their Constitution, if the Monks could be brought to acquiesce. Lastly, the subject would be exhausted, if Bishop Hay would accompany his description of the Home Seminaries and of their present state, with the significant hint that, in the preceding Century, Propaganda had for some years maintained two Schoolmasters in the Highlands.

In conclusion, Bishop Geddes begs his Friend

to send Dr. Gleig a Copy of *The Papist Mis-represented and Represented*; adding that his own health continued much the same; only he was getting more accustomed to his weakness, and felt it less in consequence. It was the last day of the year; and he wished many happy years, and a happy Eternity to Bishop Hay and to all their friends.

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## CHAPTER XX.

1794-1795.

Disabilities still Unrepealed—B. Geddes' Life of St. Margaret—Meeting of Catholic Highland Gentry at Fort-Augustus—Offer to raise a Regiment—Mr. Hippisley's Services in the Cause of Toleration—B. Hay in London—French Emigrant Priests Employed in Scotland—Political Club called “Friends of the People”—Watt and Downie Tried and Condemned for Treason—Duke of Cumberland and Cardinal York—Proposal to Purchase Oxhill for a Seminary—Prayers for the King—Accident to B. Hay on a Journey—Mr. Guthrie's Death.

The new Oath of Allegiance had by this time been very generally taken by the Missionaries and the principal Catholics in Scotland, and the fact had been announced in the newspapers. Yet, notwithstanding the late partial remission of the Penal Laws, in favour of Catholics, the spirit of Intolerance had not been laid; and in several parts of the country, attempts were still made to curtail the measure of Liberty now permitted by the laws. They, therefore, in a body applied to the Law Officers of the Crown in Scotland, for information, as to the precise limits of their Liberty on certain disputed points.

[Jan. 16, 1794.] Three of these related to the Celebration of Marriage. Was it necessary for them, they inquired, to Proclaim their Banns of Marriage in the Parish Church, or would not their own Chapel suffice? Must they be Married by the Minister of the Parish, or submit to a fine? And, if one of the Parties was a Protestant, and was willing to be Married by a Priest, was that Protestant party exposed to Church-censures and fine?

In reply to these Queries, the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor-General, in a joint Paper—[August 1]—informed the Memorialists that the Law on these points had not been changed. It was still necessary that Banns of Marriage should be proclaimed in the Parish Church:

and no one but a Minister of the Establishment was permitted to Celebrate a Marriage, with the sole exception, made in the Reign of Queen Anne, in favour of the Episcopal Clergy. An infringement of these Conditions still rendered the parties liable to all the serious Penalties attached to Clandestine Marriages.

To a Query relating to the Registration of Catholic Infants in the Books of the Parish, it was answered that no obligation lay on any one, whether Catholic or Protestant, to Register his child in the Parish Books; but the utility of the practice ought to recommend it to every one.

Was it imperative on a Catholic, who had given public scandal, to submit to public censure in the Established Church? The Memorialists were informed that a refusal to submit to such a censure involved no Civil penalties, entailing nothing more than Excommunication, or Exclusion from the Spiritual privileges of the Establishment; a penalty which plainly could have no force, in the case of persons who were already separated from that Communion.

No law existed to prevent a Catholic Priest from Baptizing any child, if the Parents desired it, even the illegitimate children of Protestant parents regarding whom the inquiry had been made. Nevertheless, in Parishes where the Session-Clerk and the Beadle had uniformly and immemorially claimed their Dues for Baptism, Catholics, like all other persons residing in those Parishes, were legally bound to pay them, even in the case where neither Session-Clerk nor Beadle was asked to officiate.

Did the law, the Memorialists further inquired, authorise Masters in Schools supported by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, to force Catholic Children to learn the Protestant Catechism, or to expel them in case of refusal? The practice, it was added, was a pernicious one to the Children, as their minds became confused between the lessons of the Schoolmaster, and their Parents' instructions at home. In reply, it was stated that the practice of Schools supported by the Society in question was regulated solely by its private rules. Any complaints, therefore, that the Memorialists might have to make, must be addressed to the Managers of the Society, who alone had it in their power to grant or refuse any request made to them.

"Are not the Roman Catholics, by the late Act in their favour, put upon an equal footing, at least as to all the above Articles, with his Majesty's other subjeets, who are of a different Communion from the Established Church?" Such was the final Query of the Memorialists. They must have derived little comfort from the answer of the Lawyers. "Having given specific Answers to all the above Queries, an Answer to this one appears almost nnecessary. The purpose of the late Act of Parliament is clearly expressed, both in its Preamble and Enactment, to have been merely this, to enable R. Catholics to hold and enjoy Property of all kinds, without molestation, on account of their Religious persuasion, and to substitnto in place of the Formula, (by which they were obliged, under the Act of King William, to renounce their Religion,) an Oath of Abjuration and Declaration, sufficient to secure their allegiance to the King, and to the Constitution of this Country." If words mean anything, those words amounted to this ; We are unwilling to remind you, that so far from being on an equal footing with your fellow-subjects, all that the late Act did for you was to enable you to possess your own Property without absolutely denying your Religion. The Memorial of the Catholic Body concluded in these Words :—

"The Roman Catholics beg leave to observe that they propose the above queries by no means with any view or wish to be exempted from what the Laws of their country require, but only to know what these Laws require from them that they may faithfully observe them, and not be exposed to illegal severities and impositions, with which people of unfriendly dispositions may endeavour to distress them. They are, and wish to give every proof in their power, of their being faithful subjects, good citizens, and worthy members of society, and they humbly apprehend that the late indulgence granted them by the Legislature entitles them to be treated as such, while they behave themselves conformably to these characters, especially in matters where their Consciences are interested, and in which they wish to give offence to no man. They beg leave further to observe that they do not want to be exempted from such legal Kirk dues as are required on any of the above cases, and are paid by other Nonconformists ; but as they observe that such Dues are never exacted from other Nonconformists and rigorously demanded from Catholics, and that when exacted, are sometimes more, some-

times less, at the arbitrium of the Kirk-Session, they therefore wish to know what the Law precisely requires on this head, that they may not be exposed to the arbitrary imposition of people prejudiced against them."

Neither the lapse of nearly seventy years, nor even the passing of the Emancipation Act has yet liberated the Catholic Body from the legal necessity of having their Bans of Marriage proclaimed in the Protestant Church of the Parish in which they live. In large Towns, the necessity is absurd as well as irksome. The primary use of Bans was, no doubt, by making the intention of the parties to Marry public, to afford an opportunity of discovering any impediment to their union. That end is abundantly satisfied by the Publication of their Bans in the Chapel where the Catholic parties are best known. But to insist on their also being "cried" in a City Church, where the very sound of their names is felt to be strange, can serve no end but to augment the fees of the Session-Clerk. A case has been known, where two Irish parties, just made man and wife, finished the Ceremony by begging sixpence from the Priest who had married them, to pay for their night's lodging. Ought such persons to be obliged to pay five, or perhaps ten shillings to a Session-Clerk for an idle Form? It may be said that such persons have no business to Marry. But as the Law interposes no restraint on their liberty in this respect, they are free to follow their inclination. In fact, the Priest himself not unfrequently has to pay the Session-Clerk's fees, when very poor persons, who, perhaps, have been irregularly united, apply to him for Marriage. The state of the Law in this respect, calls for revision. All the Dissenting Bodies have an equal interest in its amendment, which probably only awaits the decay of Establishment influence in the Country.

The last week in January, the veteran Ex-Jesuit, Mr. George Maxwell, was seized with alarming illness. He thought himself dying, and Bishop Hay gave him the Viaticum. Throughout the day, he continued to sink, and as his Medical attendant, Mr. Wood, had an unfavourable opinion of his case, the Bishop administered Extreme Unction to him the same evening. Next day, however, the old man's vigorous constitution began to rally, heulti-

mately regained his usual health, and lived for eight years longer.

Mgr. Erskine, who seems to have merged the Ecclesiastic as much as possible, in the Diplomatic Agent, during his visit to Scotland, passed ten days in Edinburgh, on his way from the North, without seeing Bishop Hay, or returning his frequent calls. The Bishop felt the disappointment keenly, as he had hoped to press the interests of the Scotch College on his old Fellow-student, at a personal interview. The Prelate soon returned to London, and is found at Court, on the Queen's Birthday. His connexion with a noble Family secured him a favourable reception in Britain; even the Newspapers mentioned without disapprobation his being a secret Envoy from the Roman Court. Bishop Douglas alone received him with coldness. In the month of May, he found leisure to write to Bishop Geddes, in reply to two Letters which the Bishop had addressed to him, while he was in Scotland. It gratified him extremely, he said, to hear how much the Bishop was esteemed and beloved by his large acquaintances in Scotland. Monsignor Erskine had travelled as far North as St. Andrews, and had found the climate very mild, although it was Winter. Born, as he had been, in a distant Country, he had yet felt on approaching Cambo, (his Family-Seat) sensations such as are produced on seeing, for the first time after a long absence, one's "paternal house." "Edinburgh," he added, "is a charming town; every view of it and from it, is picturesque; and that mixture of old and of modern, engages not only the eye, but also the imagination. As for its society, I must say it is the pleasantest I ever met with; and I shall never forget the civilities I have received there." He had been lately appointed Auditor to the Pope, (a near step to the Cardinalate;) but his Predecessor, Cardinal Roverella, would continue to act for him, till his return to Rome.

The amiable Invalid at Aberdeen continued to receive the universal sympathy of his many friends. Among them, Lord Monboddo made frequent inquiries at the Catholic Clergy in Edinburgh, after the health of the Bishop. "If the sincere and good wishes of all classes here could restore you the full use of your limbs," adds his Friend Mr. Farquharson, —[Edinburgh, Feb. 20] "you would not remain long at

Aberdeen." The Bishop's health continued much as usual. He was now trying the effect of Electricity, but with little hope of relief.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Macpherson, March 13.] Yet, on the whole, he was as well and as comfortable as his condition would admit of. During the past Winter, he had amused himself by composing a Life of St. Margaret, taking for the groundwork of his Biography the Life written in Italian by Father Aloysius Leslie. Other Literary projects also engaged his attention. He had begun to dictate a series of Reflections on the affairs of the Scotch Mission, and had already finished a preliminary Chapter on the Choice of Boys for the Seminaries.—[Original at Preshome. Copy in my possession.] He was about to write an Account of the State of Religion in Scotland, during the troubled years 1745 and '46. Dr. Gleig, also, the Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, gave the Bishop plenty of employment in preparing Articles for that Work. Among these, one on the Pope was finished; the Editor professed himself much pleased with it, and it was to appear in a few weeks. Another was in preparation on the Bishop's old Professor, Boscovich, and his Theory of Corpuscular Attraction. Dr. Gleig had seldom seen a man so delighted with a piece of news as Professor Robison of the University of Edinburgh, when he was told that Bishop Geddes had promised to write a Life of Boscovich.—[Dr. Gleig to B. Geddes, June 7.] The Professor was an ardent admirer of the Italian, whom he regarded as hardly inferior to Newton himself. He promised to send the Bishop some of his views respecting Boscovich, which could not be found elsewhere.

The distracted state of the Continent had produced its usual effect on trade, and the Highland population that had recently emigrated to Glasgow, were thrown out of employment, in great numbers. They wandered over the Country in search of a livelihood, and many of them enlisted in the British Army. It now occurred to some benevolent Gentlemen connected with the Highlands, that a provision might be made for those unfortunate people, if a Catholic Regiment could be raised, under a Catholic Commandant, and with a Catholic Priest for its Chaplain. The experiment was a bold one. A similar offer had been made to Government some years before, and declined. Nevertheless, a new at-

tempt was resolved on. A meeting of Catholic Highland Proprietors was held at Fort-Augustus, February 26th, at which it was unanimously resolved to express their gratitude to Government for the indulgence recently granted to the Catholic Body, and to make an offer of raising a Catholic Regiment for the service of his Majesty, under certain conditions. The Highland Dress must be adopted as the uniform of the Regiment. Maclonell of Glengarry was proposed as the Major-Commandant. The Regiment should consist of ten Companies of 57 Privates each, with the usual complement of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers to be nominated by the Major. The Meeting further expressed its regret that the urgency of the case had not allowed the Highland Gentlemen time to communicate with their Catholic brethren in the Lowlands, but directed that the Report of their proceedings should be circulated among these, as an invitation to co-operate with the movement. The Minutes were signed by Mr. John Fletcher of Dunans.

The life and soul of this movement was Mr. Maclonell, the Missionary at Glasgow. He accompanied Mr. Fletcher to Edinburgh, and both of them, provided with a Letter of Introduction from Bishop Hay—[March 14]—waited on the Lord-Advocate, as Deputies from the Meeting, to make a formal offer of their services to Government, for the purpose contemplated by the Meeting. When the scheme was first proposed, Bishop Hay, who rarely encouraged measures in which he had not a prominent share, had many misgivings on the subject. Mr. Maclonell, at the earnest request of Glengarry, applied to the Bishop by Letter, for permission to accompany his Chief to the Meeting at Fort-Augustus. But for days remaining for an answer, and the Bishop “wishing,” to use his own words, “to know the matter to the bottom,”—[To B. Geddes, March 15]—went himself to Glasgow (Feb. 19,) to confer with the Missionary, and with Glengarry. He found the Chief very candid. Letters from Bishop Chisholm and the Highland Gentlemen were shown him, expressing their consent to attend the Meeting. Bishop Hay then perceived that the matter was too far advanced to oppose it; and the successful issue of the Meeting further confirmed him in this view. He therefore, at once, entered

warmly into it; had the report of the Meeting copied for distribution among the Lowland Gentry, and introduced the Deputation to the Lord Advocate. “I say nothing of the motives assigned in the Report,” he adds; “the facts are but too true, and the effects of the remedy, if adopted, lie in the hands of Providence. I am much edified with Glengarry. He is an amiable young gentleman, and I hope will one day be an honour and support to his Country and to Religion.”

The Deputation then went on to London, followed by Glengarry. They found the Lord Advocate there, and his Uncle, Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, who presented the Address of the Meeting to his Majesty. Some days were required for a final answer, and some difficulties were made. At last, the Secretary of State informed the Deputation that his Majesty viewed with much approbation this proof of the loyalty of his Catholic subjects in Scotland; but, in existing circumstances, he felt it necessary to decline their offer of a Regiment. Over exertion and disappointment occasioned the temporary illness of Mr. Maclonell. He and his Chief persevered, however, in their application. They obtained an interview with Henry Dundas, who listened patiently to the exposition of their views, as to the effects of the Highland Emigration. Ten days elapsed, and he invited them to another interview, at which he received them with great politeness, and after some further discussion, gave them hopes of obtaining the command of a Fencible Regiment, for the young Highland Chief.—[B. Hay to B. Geddes, June 11.]

The secret history of this refusal to accept the offer of the meeting of Fort-Augustus is curious. The fascinating Duchess of Gordon was opposed to it, because her son, the Marquis of Huntly, was raising a Regiment at the time, and the majority of his dependants being Catholics, would, no doubt, have preferred to enlist in a Catholic Regiment. Another Highland Proprietor, Sir James Grant, was opposed to the scheme, for a similar reason.—[B. Geddes to Mr. Macpherson, June 19.]

Glengarry ultimately obtained his Regiment, and recruited it largely from the Highlands. Mr. Maclonell was nominated to be its Chaplain, by a singular evasion of the existing law.

This Regiment recommended itself to the authorities by volunteering for service in any part of Britain, or of Ireland; several other Scotch Regiments of Volunteers having refused to go on service even to England. In the year 1798, the Glengarry Fencibles were employed in Ireland, during the Rebellion. The Chaplain did what he could to soften the rigours of Military Law, on behalf of the unfortunate Rebels. Where the Yeomanry Cavalry had too often converted Chapels into Stables, Mr. Macdonell insisted on their being restored to their proper use.

At this time we find in Rome, an English Member of Parliament, the Recorder of Sudbury, who was destined for some years to come, to play an important part in the History of Religion in Britain. Mr. Hippisley, afterwards created a Baronet, had in early life been engaged in the service of the East India Company. Returning to Europe, he made himself useful to Government in various Diplomatic negotiations. He resided for several years in Rome, where a sister of his wife's, Madame Cicciaporcii, also lived, and where he seems to have acted in a capacity similar to Mgr. Erskine's at the Court of St. James'. His courtesy and candour secured for him the confidence of every one, even of the Pope himself.

It was in contemplation to introduce a measure into Parliament for the purpose of establishing friendly relations between the two Courts of England and of Rome. It was part of Mr. Hippisley's mission to smooth the way for it. For this purpose he applied in the name of his Government to the Scotch Agent in Rome, for any Documents that might prove the desire of Propaganda that the British Catholics should live in submission to the established Government, especially during the years 1715, and 1745.—[Mr. Hippisley to Mr. Macpherson, April 30.] Hearing that Mr. Macpherson had given Antonelli a Narrative of the Repeal of the Penal Laws in England, Mr. Hippisley solicited an Italian Translation of it, which he delivered with his own hand to the Pope. In Rome, although he was not invested with a Ministerial character, he enjoyed greater influence than all the Foreign Ministers put together.—[Mr. Macpherson to B. Geddes, May 3.] In fact, so popular had the British Envoy become, that in the course of

this Summer, a public Address was presented to him by all the British Catholic Clergy, Secular and Regular, then residing in Rome, in testimony of their appreciation of his strenuous efforts to re-establish friendly relations between the British and Roman Courts, and generally to befriend Catholics. The resident British Catholics also expressed their gratification at the Pope's having lately opened his Ports for the supply of the British Fleet, and at a British Regiment of Cavalry having been honourably received and entertained for three months in the Papal States. As a mark of his particular esteem for the Nation, the Pope had presented each Officer with a gold Medal. To this interchange of civilities, Mr. Hippisley's Negotiations had largely contributed. The Address, therefore, alluded to the approbation which his Diplomatic services had received from the British Foreign Secretary, and to the universal esteem which they had gained for Mr. Hippisley at the Roman Court.—[Mr. Macpherson to B. Hay, June 28.]

The Envoy deposited the Address with Antonelli, at Propaganda. Sanguine spectators of events anticipated seeing the Diplomatist ere long Minister at the Papal Court. The Bishops in Scotland were invited to offer Mr. Hippisley a compliment similar to the Address; but they received a hint from Mgr. Erskine, that it would be better to send him a private assurance of their grateful appreciation of his services, until the nature of his Mission at Rome was disclosed, by subsequent events.—[B. Hay to Mr. Macpherson, Oct. 4.] Bishop Geddes addressed a polite Letter to Mr. Hippisley, who, in reply, repeated his assurance of the friendly dispositions entertained by himself and the British Government towards the Holy See, and the Catholics of Britain, in whose behalf he soon hoped to see substantial, though tardy justice done by the British Nation.—[Mr. Hippisley to B. Geddes, Nov. 17.]

The young Refugees from Douay, who had been transferred, in the course of last year, to Spain, had a tedious and expensive Voyage of three months. They were detained a long time in London, waiting for a Convoy, and stormy weather drove them as far west as the Coast of Brazil. Their passage cost the Mission upwards of £100, in addition to the expense of their Journey from Oporto to Valladolid. As







